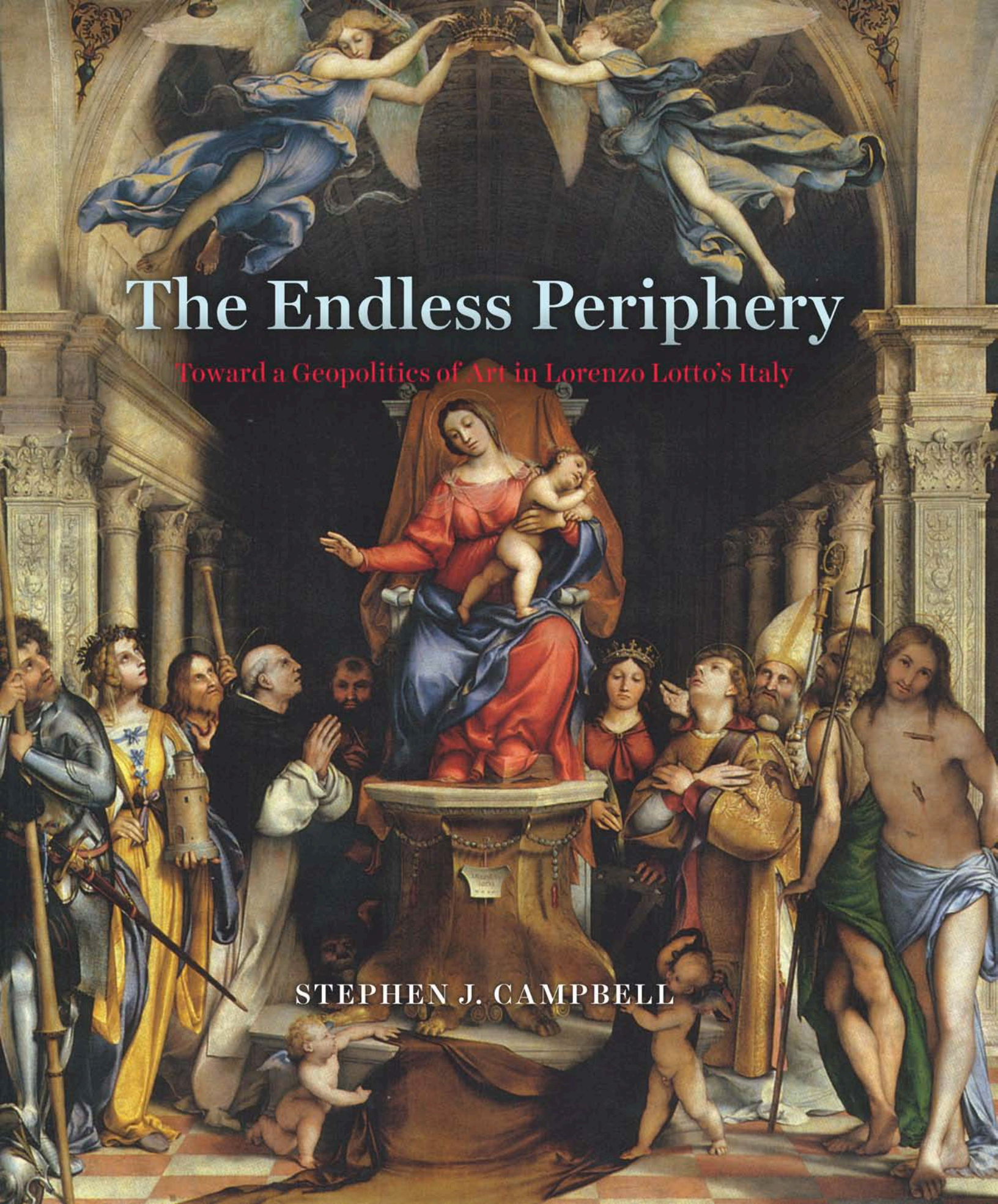

The Endless Periphery

Toward a Geopolitics of Art in Lorenzo Lotto's Italy

STEPHEN J. CAMPBELL

The Endless Periphery

The Louise Smith Bross Lecture Series

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STEPHEN J. CAMPBELL

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With all my words, which enabled me to describe Sienese ambiguities, Florentine ambitions, even Piero, I could only travesty these works. But did they not, in any case, repose on modes of perception or being, or even on a way of experiencing the world that I no longer have? And yet these awakened societies were small towns and villages . . . Just so! Like anyone else today, I am an inheritor of the Italian Renaissance, so it was not in the large cities that consciousness was different, or I would know about it. No, I had to conceive that this deep awareness had its centre elsewhere; and that unlike those cities that have collaborated with history, and lesser ones that have clustered about them, it is in a remote village, in a valley almost sealed off, on a rocky, almost empty mountain, and only there, that it must have appeared. By now, you will recognize the movement of thought, and how the idea of the arrière-pays sometimes deprived me, as I have said, of what I love.

—YVES BONNEFOY,
The Arrière-pays, trans. Stephen Romer

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Foreword

This book is the third in a series of published lectures sponsored by the University of Chicago and initiated in April 2000 in memory of Louise Smith Bross. To honor her intense commitment to scholarship in the history of art, her family decided to establish a series of lectures sponsored by the university's Art History Department in the field of European art and architecture before 1800. The lectures are given every three years by a scholar of international reputation, with the expectation that they will be published by the University of Chicago Press.

Louise Smith Bross was born in 1939 and grew up in Lake Forest, Illinois, where she attended the Bell School. She graduated from Miss Porter's School in Farmington, Connecticut, in 1957 and in 1961 received her BA in history from Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. After she married and had started a family, she worked as a volunteer at the Art Institute of Chicago and then began graduate studies in art history at the University of Chicago, where she earned her PhD in 1994. Her doctoral dissertation on the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome, written under the direction of Charles E. Cohen, was an original and significant contribution to the study of

the later Renaissance. When she joined the faculty of Lake Forest College in 1995, her research had led her to the study of confraternities and the Roman church of Santa Caterina dei Funari. Her career was cut short by her death in October 1996 from cancer. She is survived by her four children, Suzette Bross Bulley, Jonathan Mason Bross, Lisette Bross, and Medora Bross Geary, and by myself. Her graduate studies were in many ways a project involving her whole family and an inspiration for us all.

It was said of Louise by a friend and colleague that the two most important things for her were, first, being a mother and, second, being a scholar. In addition to those central roles, she was active in numerous organizations and had a wide circle of family and friends.

We are grateful to Joel Snyder for all he did on behalf of the university in establishing these lectures, and to Julius Lewis, a trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago and himself a former graduate student at the university, who suggested to our family the concept of lectures in art history to be given at the university and published by its press, for his wisdom and guidance. We are also grateful to professors Charles E. Cohen, Martha Ward, and Christine Mehring, who have worked to shepherd this effort over the years.

Our family is pleased that this third volume in the lecture series was written by Professor Stephen Campbell. It develops the superb lectures he delivered in 2012 about the cultural geography of Italian Renaissance art beyond the centers of Rome, Florence, and Venice. Professor Campbell lectured at both the Art Institute of Chicago and at the university. This followed a pattern set by earlier lectures in creating a collaboration between the university and the Art Institute, two distinguished Chicago institutions that meant so much to Louise. It was a pleasure for us to be among those welcoming Professor Campbell. We have no doubt that this volume will be recognized as an important contribution to art history.

John A. Bross
Chicago, 2018

Preface

Our modern notion of Italian Renaissance art in large part depends on the success of a highly partisan historiography produced mainly in Florence and Venice in the mid-1500s. That politicized historical enterprise fundamentally transformed perceptions of the relation between art and place as these had hitherto been understood. Artists, correspondingly, found they had to position themselves in relation to a hegemonic alignment of styles—the Florentine, the Venetian, the Roman—and the metropolitan centers from which they were named. This book, which first saw light of day as the Louise Smith Bross Lectures at the University of Chicago in May 2012, is written against the grain of that midcentury status quo. It seeks to conceive of the relation of those "centers" to other places and regions—the Marches, the Alps, Lombardy, Sicily—in terms more in line with the actual dynamics of art production: the movement of artists and their works; the adaptation of an artist's way of working in response to the work's destination; the effective formation within works of art themselves of networks of affiliation that manifest a transpeninsular geographical consciousness.

The interest in artistic mobility has only increased since 2012: the book maintains the focus of the original lectures, which is the analysis of works of art. Sixteenth-century writing on art is also discussed, often to stress its dissonance with or resistance to artistic practice. The intended result is a new understanding of what place, distance, and mobility mean in the work of artists such as Lorenzo Lotto, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Alessandro Bonvicino (better known as Moretto), Romanino, Vincenzo da Pavia, Girolamo Alibrandi, and—not least—Titian. Through a series of case studies the book confronts several problems that have long troubled the writing of a history of Italian art: the question of how to discern and interpret patterns of diffusion and exchange; of distinguishing, in art historical analysis, between "influence" and "appropriation" or "resistance"; of how to see style as a geopolitical symptom; and, not least, the historiographical question of canon formation.

Place presents a considerable challenge—and an equally provocative stimulus—for the contextual assessment of works of art, not least because of the largely museological context in which these works are now encountered. The focus here is on works of painting and sculpture intended for specific cultural landscapes, many of them remote from major cities. Such works are imbued with local concerns—whether in the form of adapting or repeating traditional local typologies, providing cues to local memory (cults, miracles, patron saints, divinities, rulers), or making topographical references. My first thoughts for the Bross lectures came over the course of several years of work, with a colleague, on a general history of Italian art from 1400 to 1600, which occasioned some reflections on the visibility of Italian Renaissance painting in the public collections of North America. American museums house thousands of works of Italian Renaissance art, which in many cases constituted the foundational core of the collection—a circumstance arising from the prestige of the Renaissance and from its centrality in the formation of art history as a discipline. Yet there is an important sense in which nineteenth- and twentieth-century collectors of Renaissance art were—sometimes for reasons as much pragmatic or financial as aesthetic—less beholden to ideas of a normative or Vasarian Renaissance than the scholars and historians who established the academic discipline of art history in the United States. Certainly, the core of the great collections, like those of the Metropolitan Museum and the National Gallery of Art, is works by artists active in Rome, Florence, or Venice. Yet most North American art museums that owe their holdings to private collectors—such as those in Los Angeles, El Paso, Denver, Toledo, Detroit, or Baltimore—house a rich variety of work by artists from Siena, Genoa, Parma, Brescia, Ferrara, Cremona, Lodi, or Ascoli Piceno.

Those who have a stake in the maintenance of these collections need to attend to the forming of historical narratives that give a place to so-called "regional" works of Renaissance art. Frequently, such regional examples are presented as examples of local schools or regional styles, forming a second tier to art in the major centers. I maintain that these works beckon to us less in their typicality than in their strangeness, in their flouting of long-standing historiographical constructions of Renaissance art, in their challenge to tell a different story. The

challenge is not just to create a set of regional microhistories, but also to think about larger patterns presented by these geographically dispersed artistic enterprises. The prevailing question for scholarship on Renaissance art history—and one that this book seeks to address—is how to identify and address the local, and how to characterize the local in terms of *relations* within an overall field of artistic production which, in the sixteenth century, is increasingly marked by *centralization*.

Acknowledgments

The manuscript of this book was completed in October 2017, and I have tried to keep the bibliography current to that point. While I have not been able to respond to the efflorescence of publications and exhibitions devoted to some of the artists covered in this book—Polidoro, Lotto, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Romanino, and Moretto—over the course of 2018, the increased attention to the artists of the so-called *periferia* suggests that the appearance of the book is particularly timely.

I would like to thank Martha Ward and Joel Snyder for inviting me to give the Louise Bross lectures at the University of Chicago and the Art Institute of Chicago. The lectures were presented in Chicago, May 8–11, 2012. I benefited from the responses of several colleagues and graduate students on that occasion, in particular, Charles Cohen, Aden Kumler, Morten Steen Hansen, Pam Stewart, Claudia Swan, and Rebecca Zorach. I owe special thanks to John and Judy Bross for their hospitality, enthusiasm, and encouragement.

A fellowship from The Clark Institute in spring 2016 was invaluable in getting the manuscript into its final form, especially with the expert editing of Fronia Simpson and the supportive community of scholars and graduate students. In May 2016, when the book based

on the lectures had largely assumed its final shape, I presented a series of seminars at the École pratique des hautes études, at the invitation of Michel Hochmann.

The ideas presented here are the product of many years and several projects exploring the idea of an Italian Renaissance "without Vasari" (which, as I argue in the introduction, is by no means a call for the outright rejection of Vasari). I owe a special debt to fellow travelers, and indeed traveling companions, in Lombardy, the Italian Alps, the Marches, Naples, and Sicily: John Paul Clark, Christopher Nygren, Jason di Resta, Francesco De Carolis, and Fernando Loffredo, in particular.

Among many interlocutors and readers over the years, I am indebted to Leonard Barkan, Louise Bourdua, Bryan Brazeau, Jean Campbell, Henry Carpenter, Michael Cole, Jody Cranston, the late Brian Curran, Michael Fried, Megan Holmes, Bryan Keene, Jérémie Koering, Christopher Lakey, Daniel Wallace Maze, Jeremy Melius, Mitchell Merback, Mitchell Merling, Alessandro Nova, Mary Pardo, Chloe Pelletier, Lorenzo Pericolo, Serena Romano, Laura Somenzi, Carl Strehlke, Luke Syson, Gavin Wiens, Tom Willette, the late Robert Williams, and Alison Wright. Thanks also to the two anonymous readers of the manuscript, and to my editor Susan Bielstein for her particularly helpful comments on the text.

For facilitating my access to works of art and assisting with photographs, I would like to thank Claudio Cassadio, Evelina De Castro, Christopher Daly, Suzanne McCullough, Alessandra Migliorato, Mauro Natale, April Oettinger, and Rosanna Vigiani; James Toftness at the University of Chicago Press offered invaluable guidance throughout the process.

A Renaissance Society of America–Samuel H. Kress Mid-Career Research and Publication Fellowship for 2018 helped cover the considerable expenses of obtaining photographs for this book. There is no greater obstacle to scholarship—especially for scholars more junior than myself—than the preposterous charges levied by some major public institutions purporting to have an educational mission, and which make no distinction between an academic monograph largely funded by its author and a "commercial publication." I therefore offer my special appreciation to the regional museums of Italy, which keep their fees reasonable, and to the increasing number of museums—the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC; and the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore—for making photographs available at no cost to art historians.

1 *Off the Axis*

The Renaissance without Vasari

"This [exhibition] on Giovanni Bellini is a patriotic display," begins the catalogue to a 2008 exhibition on the artist at the Scuderie del Quirinale in Rome. "It is so in the most literal sense of the word, because it proposes and exalts and makes comprehensible to everyone the foundational poetic values of our common fatherland."[1] The writer turns at once to the centerpiece of the show, Bellini's great altarpiece of about 1480, made for a Franciscan church in the Adriatic city of Pesaro, temporarily reunited with a long-separated portion now in the Vatican (fig. 1.1). The work is proclaimed to represent the zenith of Italian painting, a point of encounter for the revolutionary art of Bellini's contemporaries—the "Flemish clarity" of the Sicilian Antonello da Messina, the geometry of the Tuscan Piero della Francesca. Yet what strikes the author most is the landscape. "Surrounded by a frame of white marble with polychrome that the sun warms like living flesh, is the castle of Gradara. The castle of Gradara, in the province of Pesaro in the Marches, still exists, and so too exists—at least with respect to the area in the immediate vicinity of the monument—the luminous and irregular landscape, made of crumbling rocks and tumbling hills that Giovanni Bellini has described with such poetic

1.1 Giovanni Bellini, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*. 1471–74. On panel, 262 × 240 cm. Pesaro, Museo civico. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

intensity. Amidst the devastation of contemporary Italy, the survival of this piece of the ancient fatherland is most moving."[2]

A work of art functions here as a form of historical memory, even a kind of symbolic restitution or compensation, a way of visualizing cohesion in the face of a prevailing experience of fragmentation—in this case, "the devastation of contemporary Italy." Renaissance art has been specially called on to serve the work of memory in this way, even when a painting like Bellini's is also held to be a capsule of historical transformation and modernization. As the artistic progeny of the southerner Antonello and the central Italian Piero, the Venetian Bellini incarnates "Italian art" just as Raphael, Giorgione, and Titian do. This is especially the case because Bellini's painting was made for a location remote from the major centers. The altarpiece turns a particular site into a "place of memory," as Pierre Nora would call it, a location that persists despite the vicissitudes of history and thus, implicitly, constitutes a guarantee of the continuity and coherence of Italy itself.[3] As a work by a Venetian in the Marches, it is here regarded as *full* of place, evoking the landscape near Pesaro and (although some scholars dispute this) the still-extant castle of Gradara. A set of differences can be both recognized and transcended; Bellini's work for a site in the periphery, at a halfway point between Venice and Rome, draws the regional (Venetian), the local/provincial (Pesaro), and the "national" into a kind of harmonious axial alignment. The last of these, at least for the duration of the exhibition, was signaled by Rome, where the *disiecta membra* of the work have been reunited: "The Quirinal Hill, the place where the identity of the fatherland resides . . . [in] an exhibition that reflects, as if in a mirror, the haunting beauty of historic Italy."[4]

Such an official celebration of Bellini, by the scholar and former cultural heritage minister Antonio Paolucci, speaks to broader, anxious questions concerning the historical experience of place, problems arising at the intersection of history and geography. There is the his-

torical question of what geographic identities like "regional," "national," and "local" might have meant—if they meant anything—to artists like Bellini and to their publics. Since the 1800s, Renaissance art has repeatedly served as the point of departure for the construction and reconstruction of Italian cultural memory and national identity. In one more recent, and blatantly instrumental, spectacle, art functioned as a symbolic resolution of long-standing tensions between deeply sedimented regional identities and the manufactured collectivity of the modern state. In a pavilion of Expo 2015 in Milan, works of Renaissance and later art were pressed into a new formulation of national identity based on food culture and biodiversity. This annex to what was essentially a giant food fair ("Eataly") was hung floor to ceiling with paintings by Lotto, Romanino, Giovanni Agostino da Lodi, Niccolo di Maestro Antonio, and numerous other later artists who have come to personify the local and the "peripheral." Art here performed the end of history, as a narrative no longer of progress and modernization but of highly essentialized and transhistorical regional differences, as much natural as cultural.

It is by means of such an utterly unhistorical artistic geography that the local is aligned with the national, and that artists outside the mainstream centers of Florence, Rome, and Venice—artists who barely receive a mention in Giorgio Vasari's Florence-centric history of art—are given a place. Art is conveniently redefined as a national resource or consumer product, like prosciutto di Parma or Brunello da Montalcino. At the same time, even the reductive dehistoricization that we see at work in the Expo display is oblique testimony to the central problem in Renaissance historiography since Vasari: that the historical problem of describing what happened in Italy between 1300 and 1600 is also a spatial or geographic one. What I mean here is that geography is conceived as a passive ground through which historical processes of modernization have been enacted or implanted. Much as Paolucci recognizes that Bellini's presence in Pesaro means that Pesaro participates in broader currents traversing the peninsula, those currents are always figured as a momentum of unidirectional transformation—the integration of Pesaro into a historical mainstream with a uniform character; the evolution of the *maniera moderna*; the collective emergence of "modern" Renaissance Italian art. Thus, Marco Zoppo's 1471 altarpiece for the Franciscans in Pesaro (fig. 1.2), produced only a few years before Bellini's work for the same church, could only represent a primitive antecedence with regard to Bellini, and the obsolescence of pictorial models from another provincial center (Padua or Bologna).[5] Carlo Crivelli, a Venetian artist at large in the central Adriatic region who had little interest in his compatriot's formulation of space and light in the Pesaro altarpiece, is necessarily a "late Gothic" practitioner, a purveyor of courtly glamour for a provincial elite, rather than, say, an alternative and intensely metarepresentational vanguardist, performing while unmasking the technologies of pictorial illusion (fig. 1.3).[6]

We are dealing, after all, with a geographic entity where for several centuries the quantity, variety, and survival rate of artistic production are unparalleled in any other region in the same period: not the Holy Roman Empire, not Spain, not the Netherlands, not anywhere

1.2 Marco Zoppo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*. 1471. On panel, 268 × 258 cm. Berlin: Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie. Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Staatliche Museen / Jorg P. Anders/Art Resource, NY.

1.3 Carlo Crivelli, *Virgin and Child with Saints and the Charge to Peter*. c. 1490. On panel, 191 × 196 cm. Berlin: Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie. Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Jorg P. Anders /Art Resource, NY.

in western Asia. The extraordinary variety of Italian art from the Middle Ages onward has long appealed to the mapping and diagnostic impulses of historians, travelers, curators, and connoisseurs. While the need for a more geographically inclusive historical paradigm has been called for since the *Storia pittorica* of Luigi Lanzi (1792–96), the past two centuries of commentary on the Renaissance have seen the opposite happening.

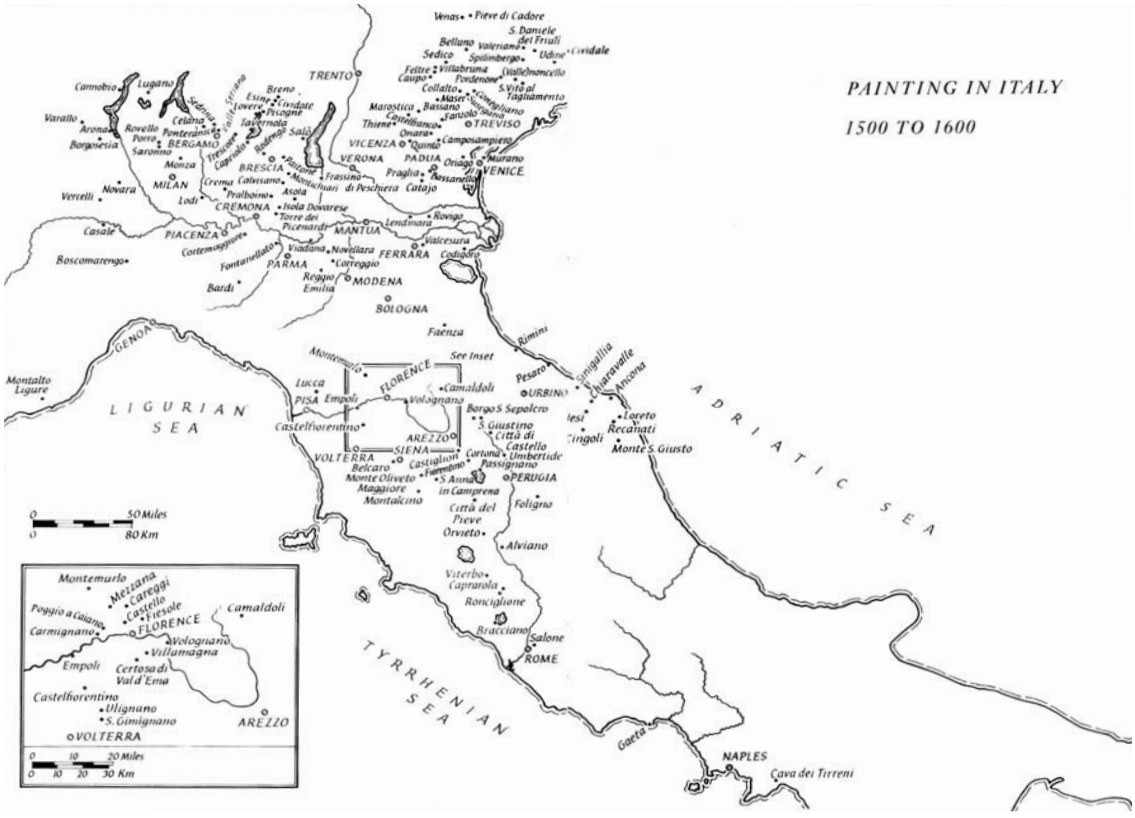
Modern historiographies have not given up on one of the central terms in Vasari's analytical armory, his view of the Renaissance—explicated in his *Lives of the Artists* (1550 and 1568)—as characterized by the achievement of *the* (only) *maniera moderna*. Vasari was specific about what that entailed: it meant that art had progressed to a norm of idealized beauty and order epitomized in the work of Raphael, the artist from Urbino who had dominated art in Rome from 1509 until his death in 1520, and whose many followers disseminated the principles of the "modern manner" to other parts of Italy. Within the half-century after the lifetimes of Bellini, Zoppo, and Crivelli, a normative account of the *maniera moderna* was emerging, which located the entire momentum of change in at most two or three privileged centers, neglecting or negating prolific and high-quality production elsewhere in the peninsula: southern Italy, the Adriatic provinces, the Alps, and so on.

The vast array of artistic production across a large and culturally highly fragmented region is made intelligible by singling out only those that signal evolution toward some idea of the future, some notion of the postmedieval, something that from the Enlightenment onward was seen to be fundamentally connected with the self-image of the modern historian. As Vasari's modern manner was in later centuries conflated with a "classical" norm quite foreign to the Renaissance, above all with the universal and transhistorical "Hellenic" ideal of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the organizing binaries that have dominated the modern historiography of Italian art began to emerge: classical/anticlassical; center/periphery; modernizing/*retardataire*.[7] An implacable neo-Vasarian rigidity was set in place following World War II. For scholars like Frederick Hartt, the affirmation of Florentine art as an art of "freedom" was an aesthetic and ideological disenfranchisement of "her enemies"—the courts, and then the courtly art of mannerism. Bernard Berenson had nurtured the enthusiasm of early twentieth-century collectors for the art of Carlo Crivelli, but in *Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (1952) he wrote that "Crivelli does not belong to a movement of constant progress, and therefore is not within the scope of this work."[8] According to the only scholarly modern survey in English of Italian art in the sixteenth century, Sydney J. Freedberg's *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*:

> The artistic events that most powerfully determined the history of sixteenth century painting took place in the century's first two decades in Florence and Rome, in the time which, implicitly recognizing the nature of its achievement, we have come to call the High Renaissance. The most extraordinary intersection of genius art history has known occurred then and gave form to a style which, again eliciting a term that is a value judgment, we call "classical"—meaning, in its original usage, "of the highest class."[9]

Freedberg has had no competitors. Could there ever be a general history of Italian art that does not consign most artistic production in the peninsula to the periphery, as his *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600* implicitly did? The present book—which can be seen as called into being by the white spaces in Freedberg's frontispiece map, dominated by Florence and Venice and truncated below Naples (fig. 1.4)—will seek to lay out the conditions for such a history, through a series of case studies. What follows is an account of Italian Renaissance art as it might have been seen from points of view other than the Florentine one, as it might have been understood by artists and their audiences in the period 1500–1570 in Piedmont, Bergamo, Brescia, the Marches, Messina, and even in Rome and Venice: the goal is to think of sixteenth-century art—somehow—without Vasari.

Such a goal is, at best, idealistic. Vasari's historical and geographic scheme of artistic progress and modernization, and its domination by artists from his native Tuscany, has been resisted, critiqued, and attacked from the sixteenth century onward. While modern art history might consider itself free of Vasarian notions like the "dark ages," progress in the arts, and the modernity of the Renaissance, his periodizing scheme has proved hard to



1.4 Map of "Italy" from Sydney J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600* (Harmondsworth, UK: Pelican, 1970). Credit: By permission of Yale University Press.

dislodge. Even more intractable, and more challenging, for modern scholarship is Vasari's geography of art. While in the general preface to the *Lives* Vasari claimed to offer a comprehensive account of Italian art over three centuries—"to drag from the ravening maw of time the names of the sculptors, painters, and architects, who from Cimabue to the present day, have been of some notable excellence in Italy"[10]—it was clear even to early readers that there were only three places in Italy that finally mattered: Florence, Rome, and—somewhat grudgingly—Venice. In reading the draft for the second edition, his humanist colleague and editor Vincenzo Borghini pressed Vasari to include more material on "Genoa, Venice, Naples, Milan and in sum about the great cities full of works, whether of painting, sculpture, or architecture."[11]

Vasari acted accordingly, but not without a conspicuous bias against art and artists in these other cities, especially Naples, and without compromising the centrality of Rome and Florence in his account. Already by the 1550s Venice-based writers like Ludovico Dolce and Pietro Aretino, responding to Vasari's prejudicial account of Venice, elaborated "Venice" and "Rome" as rival systems of artistic values, scarcely conceding a place to any others. The net effect of this rising body of art theory and history was a geographic conception of art in which an imaginary axis linking Rome, Florence, and Venice played a crucial hegemonic role. A leitmotiv of the *Lives* was the principle that artists born or working off the axis needed to relocate—at least temporarily—to the major centers, becoming effectively conduits of the Tuscan-Roman "modern manner," and that in not doing so they were destined for obscurity or irrelevance. Vasari could reasonably claim that Raphael of Urbino would not have become the artist he was without going to Florence at a young age; far more partisan is his insinuation that Titian would have been a better painter if he had left Venice earlier and gone to Rome. In Vasari's terms the "Lombard" painter Correggio, no matter how imposing his work in Parma might be, was fated to remain a provincial, since (according to Vasari at his most misleading) Correggio deprived himself of the vital sources of modernity in art by never visiting Rome. The new Vasarian geography of art saddled many of the artists who will appear in the following pages—notably Lorenzo Lotto, Gaudenzio Ferrari, and Romanino—with a marginal or "provincial" status that would have been unimaginable at the peak of their careers. As styles came to be mapped more rigidly onto centers, and centers were prioritized over regions, Vasari's "modern" geography of art ultimately erased the long-standing culture of artistic pluralism, of the dynamics of transregional exchange and mobility.

It is not enough, nonetheless, to insist that Vasari was prejudiced, ill-informed, or "wrong." Whatever the reliability of its information, the *Lives* was groundbreaking as an example of historical method, powerful as a narrative of modernization, and essential in ensuring the paradigmatic status of Italy in later European historiographies of art and in collecting cultures to the present day.[12] I am not suggesting that we subscribe to a view of Vasari as promulgating a kind of sinister historiographical conspiracy directed against non-Florentines (and "impure" Florentines like Pontormo). The moment of Vasari also corresponds with other tendencies toward

normalization and centralization in Italian culture, in response to political, religious, and other institutional pressures determining the professional lives of artists.

In this chapter, I will address the possibility for thinking against the grain of Vasari's Tusco-centric version of modernity, his sense of geography as destiny. This will first of all mean reconstructing pre-Vasarian attitudes to art and its relation to place, how notions of the particular were conceptualized in relation to a larger entity called "Italy." In the following chapters, I will explore geographic models—art historical and otherwise—that will give a place to ambitious art that is also self-conscious about place, mostly by artists who were omitted from or scarcely acknowledged by Vasari's influential canon.

Working with—and without—Vasari's *Lives*

Something happened in the 1500s that altered perceptions of the relation between the local and the historically consequential, between place and artistic reputation. At a certain point, in the mid-1500s, the options for "being modern" or for being "Roman" by following the ancients dramatically narrowed. A strict critical and canonical norm had been reestablished in papal Rome itself, by an increasingly autocratic and politically embattled papacy, together with the neighboring duchy of Florence. That version of the Renaissance, and its impact on the perception of numerous local artists, is in part the result of still relatively new media, like the printing press, and of the creative and commercial production (books, prints) that went with them. For example, in 1557 the Brescian painter Girolamo de' Romani, better known now as Romanino, was asked to assess the work of a colleague in the provincial town of Salò on Lake Garda. His lukewarm opinion infuriated the other painter, who promptly claimed that Romanino was insufficiently qualified:

> It is said that Girolamo Romanino has made works of painting which are praiseworthy in accordance with his style [*maniera*], nevertheless he is not included among the numbers of those illustrious men of our era who are few and rare, and since those of worthies mention is made in several places, among them the *Supplementum Chronicarum* [of Jacopo Filippo Foresti], the beginning of the third book on architecture by Sebastiano [Serlio] of Bologna, and in canto 33 of Ariosto, and in the works of master Sperone Speroni and Aretino, as well as other famous writers who make mention of the greatest artists beginning in ancient times and reaching as far as those living in the present day.[13]

Although Romanino was not completely excluded by Vasari, who mentioned him briefly in his *Lives* of 1550 (and again in 1568), there is a real pathos here. Romanino, a well-traveled painter who had served illustrious clients across northern Italy in Cremona, Trento, Padua, and Verona, is very likely to have aligned himself with the widespread notion of a flourishing modernity in the visual arts, which writers since the previous century had been calling a *rinascità*.[14] Even the form of his nickname encodes it: born in Brescia, he was nonetheless the "little Roman."

From Sicily to the Alps, being a modern painter in Italy in the mid-1500s usually meant being part of a range of creative recapitulations of ideas about an Italian past and its ancient Roman foundations: Brescia, Romanino's native city, boasted many vestiges of its ancient identity as Brixia. Like many other Italian communes, Brescia grounded its identity in its own Roman myths of origin; far less did it identify with the modern geopolitical entity called Rome, at that time the capital of a territorial state ruled by the pope. As Carrie E. Beneš notes, "the possession of a history paralleling that of Rome argued for historical parity. Equal antiquity, it was thought, should result in equal prestige, especially if the contemporary fortunes of the city in question surpassed those of Rome."[15] The profession of a "Roman" heritage or identity, in other words, could be an entirely local matter. Rather than acknowledging the centrality of the city on the Tiber or the Roman *maniera moderna*, such local *romanitas* could imply autonomy from—even contestation of—*papal* Rome and its originary claim to sovereign authority, with the grandiose *renovatio* projects of Sixtus IV, Julius II, and their successors. Such claims, for instance, had undergirded the "antiquarian" style of Andrea Mantegna, whose monumental works facilitated the enterprise of his patrons—the Gonzaga princes of Mantua—in casting their city, the birthplace of Virgil, as a "new Rome."[16] Mantegna's style of *rinascità* took root across northern Italy, in the Adriatic region, and the kingdom of Naples. It was taken by the artist to Rome itself in the 1480s, made known through exports of works from his hand, and even more through the work of followers, through miniaturists and printmakers.[17] Whereas for Gian Paolo Lomazzo at the end of the sixteenth century Mantegna was one of the figures who defined the very category of modern art, Vasari's view would have more long-term resonance, especially in the twentieth century. For Vasari, the Paduan painter is merely on the threshold of the *maniera moderna*; innovations ascribed to Mantegna in the first version of the *Lives* of 1550 are stripped away in the second version of 1568. Mantegna's displacement has created a notorious aporia in the modern historiography of Italian art, yet he is but one instance of the formulation of a practice of "Renaissance art" that fell outside a normative Roman "classicism."[18]

We need, in other words, to conceive of a pre-Vasarian Italy and its late sixteenth-century persistence, one characterized by the dynamic interaction of numerous sites of production and consumption.[19] Vasari is quite uninterested in these multiple sites of exchange. Nor—when compared with the frequently evocative descriptions of places in Renaissance writers like Petrarch, Flavio Biondo, Leandro Alberti, or Sabba da Castiglione—is he interested in geographic particularity at all: his history could be described as "place poor."

He did not so much consciously write against this long-standing state of affairs—a dynamics of place animated by nomadic artists—as fail to represent it, presenting instead a stream lined and hierarchical account of a complex system, turning what had been a network into an axis.[20] Thus, there are traces of the older, multicentered circuit still apparent in Vasari's account. One sees a glimpse of this, for instance, in the Life of his younger contemporary Taddeo Zuccari, who had died in 1566 just before the publication of the second

edition. The success that Zuccari, an expatriate from Urbino, enjoyed in Rome meant that in 1558 he found himself commanded to work at Caprarola, the imposing rural stronghold of the powerful Farnese family some forty miles from Rome, where he fretted about missing out on opportunities for more visible commissions in the Vatican.

> The Cardinal [Alessandro Farnese], not wishing to move in the matter, answered him that his labors at Caprarola should content him, and that it did not seem to him right that his own works should be neglected by means of the rivalry and emulation between the craftsmen; adding also that, *when a master does well, it is the works that give a name to the place, and not the place to the works* [quando si fa bene sono l'opere che danno nome ai luoghi, e non i luoghi all'opere].[21]

The formulation "when a master does well, it is the works that give a name to the place, and not the place to the works" is reported by Vasari (who would probably not have disagreed, as long as the artist had acquitted himself in Rome), but it encapsulates a much older point of view. For several centuries the persona of the artist had become a visible way of marking a place, of signaling that a particular location was a "somewhere," a destination. Artistic identity—in the signature, the inscription—had a place-defining function. Between 1122 and 1130 a mason called Nicholaus or Niccolo left a series of self-commemorating poetic inscriptions on monumental religious buildings in Piemonte (Sagra di San Michele), Piacenza, Ferrara, and Verona. At San Zeno in Verona his signature epigrams joined with other inscriptions proclaiming the fame of masons called Brioloto and Guglielmo.[22]

Such inscriptions did not commemorate a local son, but rather recorded the passage through the place of a celebrated artificer who bore with him a distinction obtained in a network of other places. San Zeno, in particular, with its imperial foundation and its position in a pre-Alpine corridor of migration frequented by pan-European traffic, was defined as a prestigious site of transit, where illustrious skilled craftsmen would leave their mark (the basilica is also known for its travelers' graffiti, incised into the frescoes of the choir). Two centuries later, about 1310, an inscription in honor of Giovanni Pisano on the pulpit he carved for the cathedral of Pisa, his native city, relates that he "has encircled all the rivers and parts of the world endeavoring to learn much and preparing everything with heavy labor."[23] Accordingly, success abroad—we might think of the Florentine Giotto or the Sienese Simone Martini working at the Neapolitan court—was often decisive for recognition at home.

By the late 1300s the peripatetic artist had become the norm when it came to the making of a name or reputation: an artist's characteristic production is valued for its translatability, its capacity to circulate, its adaptability to local practices. It is circulation that makes the artist visible; it is his identifiability as being "from elsewhere" that leads his style to be associated with a name and a reputation.[24] Thus, by the mid-1300s Venetian painters like Paolo Veneziano or his younger colleague Lorenzo Veneziano incorporated references to their native city in their signatures in works for multiple locations throughout the Veneto, Emilia, Lombardy, and the Adriatic basin. Patrons in

these locations did not look only to Venice: painters identified in their signature as being "of Rimini" were also sought after in Padua and Bologna. By the 1400s the pattern of artistic mobility between Venice and neighboring regions is generally suggestive of exchange rather than unilateral demand for Venetian art. Venice looked abroad to hire artists for important state commissions; Guariento di Arpo of Padua painted the monumental *Coronation of the Virgin* for the great council hall of the Doge's Palace in 1381; the Lamberti workshop from Florence undertook sculptural commissions for San Marco and other sites a generation later; the Lombard Michelino da Besozzo went to Venice from Pavia in 1410. While the Venetian Jacobello del Fiore's appointment as official painter to the Doge's Palace in the early 1400s undoubtedly enhanced his appeal to his patrons in Padua and the Marches, it was from the latter region that the republic recruited Gentile da Fabriano, along with Pisanello from Verona, to produce historical murals for the Doge's Palace in 1409–11.

Gentile's employment in Venice was followed by lucrative commissions throughout northern and central Italy: the indisputable quality and allure of his painting were reinforced by the fact that by the time of his death he had worked in Venice, Perugia, Brescia, Florence, Siena, and Orvieto, and had also done work for the pope, and for several princes of the Marches and possibly Milan. His work, redolent of cosmopolitan glamour, speaks not of a place of origin but of mobility—to this day, art historians dispute whether his painting discloses Venetian, or Lombard, or Marchigian origins—and his elaborately worked panel paintings allude to even more exotic provenances, in that the carpets and silk brocades he depicts often bear inscriptions in pseudo-Arabic.[25] The reputation of Gentile's younger colleague Pisanello only increased as he worked for most of the major courtly elites between Milan and Naples. While many of his commissions were for large murals in permanent locations, Pisanello is also associated with innovative new forms that facilitated circulation and exchange. In addition to his drawings, which survive in almost unprecedented numbers, he is identified with the rise of the portrait medal, a reproductive medium that transmitted his own name and reputation along with those of his patrons.[26]

Artists like Gentile, Pisanello, the widely traveled Sienese Taddeo di Bartolo, the Pavian Michelino da Besozzo, and his son Leonardo, who was later active in Naples, operated as "connectors" on a circuit: they created enlivening links between one location—perhaps a small town, sanctuary, or feudal seat in Lombardy or the Marches—and a cluster of preeminent urban sites. Such artists have conventionally been regarded as modes of diffusion of a style, generally labeled "late Gothic" or "international," just as Florentine artists are seen to export an opposed, modernizing, "classical" tendency. Yet while place or origin, quality, and reputation were undoubtedly important in the recruitment of a nonlocal artist, it is very questionable that the stylistic alternatives represented by nomadic artists were understood according to modern geographic categories by their contemporaries. We have no basis for assuming that Crivelli's success in the Marches had to do with perceived "Venetian" qualities of his art (which is in fact far more diverse in its formation), or that, a generation earlier,

Agostino di Duccio was seen as exporting a Florentine style with recognizable and consistent characteristics to locations in Emilia, Umbria, Tuscany, and the Marches. Agostino's volatility, along with that of his compatriot Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino who worked in Venice and Dalmatia, frustrates any attempt to regard the artist as simply transmitting a monolithic "Florentine Renaissance" style to "peripheral" locations.[27] And what of Donatello himself? Surely here we have the defining artistic personality of the early Florentine Renaissance, if not the Renaissance *tout court*? It would seem almost perversely against the grain not to see Donatello's extensive sojourn in Padua as a crucial phase in the transmission of a Florentine stylistic "language," as Giuseppe Fiocco proposed in a monograph of 1927, and as has generally been taken for granted since.[28] Yet the reception of Donatello, his extraordinary impact on local artists like Mantegna, Crivelli, and Zoppo, and his own less than predictable trajectory as an artist indicate the extent to which concepts like "style" and "influence" reflect a modern-day compulsion to taxonomize and might be quite alien to the priorities of artists and publics of the time. Ulrich Pfisterer has proposed that the "erratic" development of Donatello—which makes so many of his undocumented works hard to date—can be ascribed to the emergence of a conception of style, but in a self-conscious, rhetorical, and pragmatic sense, not as an unconscious or physiognomical expression. Donatello modulates his language, sometimes radically, to suit subjects and situations. In a complementary sense, Donatello adjusts to differences of location and local practices. The Donatello who made the altar of the Santo in Padua—a work unthinkable in Florence, where sculptural altarpieces are rare—is a very different Donatello from the author of earlier bronze reliefs for the Siena Baptistery, or the one who only a few years later made the series of reliefs later assembled as the two bronze pulpits for San Lorenzo in his native city. The Santo altar not only engages in a dialogue with the carved altarpieces of the Masegne brothers, but also responds, in the experimental perspective constructions of its narrative reliefs, to the architecturally elaborate fresco cycles of the Paduan trecento, as well as the vanguard drawing books of the Venetian artist Jacopo Bellini.[29]

Contemporary painters in the region between Tuscany and the Veneto felt the gravitational pull of both: many traveled back and forth from the towns and courts of Urbino and Camerino to Florence, where some formed connections with the Lippi workshop and the Medici. Yet these same artists—who include Giovanni Angelo di Antonio, Giovanni Boccati, and the latter's probable son Girolamo di Giovanni—were equally aware of contemporary art in Padua and the Veneto. Boccati, for instance, was active in Florence, Perugia, Padua, Camerino, and Urbino; his son worked in the Ovetari Chapel in Padua alongside Mantegna.[30] Such painters can be seen less as transmitters of a homogeneous "Florentine" manner to the Adriatic than as transformers, finally beyond recognition, of pictorial models associated with Lippi, Piero della Francesca, Mantegna, and the Venetians. Fra Carnevale's work at the neighboring court of Urbino includes the celebrated panels now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which have little parallel in Florence in terms of their perspective virtuosi-

ty, inventive classical ornament, or subordination of sacred narratives to the huge architectural spaces that envelop them.[31] And yet one of the foremost authorities on these painters of the Marches, Federico Zeri, saw them as lesser partisans of a "pseudo-Renaissance," indicating at best "the difficult road which Renaissance rationalism had to travel . . . among digressions and mistranslations and a cultural and intellectual 'compost' which was ill-placed to understand its true meaning."[32] Zeri and his followers could not conceive that in their creative misprisions of pictorial practice from north and central Italy, the artists of the Marches, from Carnevale to Crivelli, call any presumptive normativity of Florentine art into question.

The same could be said of the artistic culture of Siena in the late quattrocento, which until recently has been treated as provincial and *retardataire*, or at best as fragmented between archaizing traditionalists like Sano di Pietro—whose work conspicuously drew from a local canon of artists from the previous century like Duccio and the Lorenzetti—and idiosyncratic "modernizers" like Matteo di Giovanni and Francesco di Giorgio, who intermittently (as some would have it) strove to keep up with the more progressive impetus from Florence. In fact, Sienese artists rivaled the Florentines in serving a widespread demand for their work across the peninsula: Giovanni di Paolo illuminated a Dante for Alfonso of Naples around 1450; Vecchietta worked in Castiglione d'Olona in Lombardy (1461) and at Pienza and Lucca; Matteo di Giovanni produced an altarpiece for the duke of Bari (1488); Angelo Maccagnino worked in Ferrara in 1457; and as an architect and engineer Francesco di Giorgio was in high demand in Urbino, Naples, Milan, and his native city. At the same time, Siena was far more receptive than Florence to artists from elsewhere: Donatello contemplated moving permanently to the city; Girolamo da Cremona and Liberale da Verona worked there in the 1470s, as did Sodoma in the 1500s.[33] (Vasari maliciously remarked at the opening of his Life of Sodoma that the artist was appreciated in Siena more because the Sienese were well disposed toward foreigners than because he was a good painter.)[34]

Strongly marked indigenous styles are characteristic of only a handful of the major centers of art production and consumption. Florence seems almost oppositional in its tendency to prefer local artists over those from elsewhere, especially after the consolidation of the Medici regime in 1434. Thenceforth, there is little conspicuous interest in foreign artists of the caliber of Gentile da Fabriano, whose most prominent Florentine patron, Palla Strozzi, was sent into exile by the Medici.[35] Yet the near-mythical and patriotic memory of Giotto cast a long shadow over Florentine artistic production, perhaps in part as a means of asserting continuity with the old and increasingly remote citizen-republic Giotto had served. Domenico Ghirlandaio was perhaps the most self-consciously Florentine of the city's painters in the later 1400s, and in his Sassetti Chapel frescoes of the 1480s he signals his *fiorentinità* through topographical views of the Piazza della Signoria and the conspicuous quotation of Giotto's *Funeral of St. Francis of Assisi* in the Bardi Chapel. And yet even the consistent and predictable Ghirlandaio, in his 1494 Malatesta altarpiece for Rimini (posthumously completed by his workshop), adopted a

1.5 Domenico Ghirlandaio and workshop, St. Vincent Ferrer altarpiece. 1493–96. On panel, 200 × 232 cm. Rimini, Museo della città. Credit: Art Resource, NY.

format quite remote from his Florentine altarpieces and closer to votive images with donors commissioned from Lorenzo Costa, Francesco Francia, and others by the Italian signori of Emilia and Romagna (fig. 1.5).[36] The stepped architecture, the central glimpse of landscape, and the encrustation with gilt relief evoke the Pala Portuense by Ercole de' Roberti painted for Ravenna in 1479–81 and the Pala Bentivoglio (1488) by Lorenzo Costa for S. Giovanni in Monte, Bologna, which also provides a parallel in the prominent donor figures. Even the Florentine workshops were not impermeable to styles and formats from elsewhere.

Court Centers as World Cities

Dante had praised the "kingdom of Sicily"—the imperial state consisting of the island of Sicily and the southern half of the peninsula and parts of France—as the ultimate court society, where "all that the most gifted individuals in Italy brought forth first came to light."[37] In Italy of the 1300s and 1400s, the powerful kingdom of Naples, now divided from the kingdom of Sicily, was still the preeminent and exemplary model of royal and aristocratic patronage. Under the rule of the House of Anjou, the court employed the Florentine Giotto, the Roman Pietro Cavallini, the Sienese Simone Martini, and his compatriot Tino da Camaino within a single generation, and these worked alongside local producers.[38] With the ascent of Alfonso of Aragon in 1458, Naples became the capital of an empire that encompassed half the Italian peninsula and spanned the Mediterranean from Catalonia to Greece. By contrast with the nominal republic of Florence, Naples asserted its wealth, status, and political centrality through the recruitment of artists and procurement of art and prestige luxury goods from Provence, Catalonia, France, Burgundy and the Netherlands, Dalmatia, and elsewhere, paralleling the expansionist ambitions of Alfonso and his successors.[39] Alfonso acquired works by Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Filippo Lippi, Donatello, Desiderio da Settignano, and Mino da Fiesole, along

with tapestries from Brussels; Pisanello joined his household in 1448. Migrant sculptors employed by the Aragonese kings included Francesco Laurana from Dalmatia, the Lombard Pietro da Milano, Domenico Gagini from Lugano, and Guido Mazzoni of Modena; Francesco di Giorgio from Siena was working for Alfonso II in 1492.[40]

Naples set the cultural standard for the smaller states of Italy in the 1300s and 1400s, most of them ruled by princes and warlords. Ferrara, Mantua, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini were linked to larger states like Milan and Naples not just through marriages and military contracts but also through the circulation of works of art and artistic personnel. The circuit or network is the central principle that enabled economically and politically marginal centers to claim distinction, as they drew on the flow of highly diverse artistic and cultural capital that linked them to an array of other places.[41] Naples effectively participated in a "peninsular" network linking the various courts, as well as a "maritime" one connecting with Genoa and the port cities of the Aragonese empire.[42] The theme of a world imperial capital is quite palpable in the patronage of Kings Alfonso I, Ferrante, and Alfonso II. At a time when the architectural patronage of the Roman papacy consisted largely of fortresses to protect itself from a hostile local population, Aragonese Naples produced some of the most ambitious and inventive recapitulations of the Roman imperial past, such as the great triumphal entrance (effectively a modernized triumphal arch) to Castel Nuovo, created by teams of masons from Catalonia, Lombardy, Dalmatia, Pisa, and Florence (1453–58 and 1465–71).[43]

Yet Aragonese patronage has long served art history's "Florentinization" narrative of the early Renaissance, above all since diplomacy between the Medici regime in Florence and Alfonso's successors was carefully managed by the Medici and other Florentine banking families. The bankers provided lavish gifts at a time of escalating fiscal crisis and recommended painters, sculptors, and architects, including the sculptor Benedetto da Maiano and the architect Giuliano da Sangallo. Recent research, however, has challenged the notion of unidirectional Florentine influence. Sangallo's monumental design for a new palace for Alfonso II was brought from Florence with an architectural model, but (as far as can be determined from the project drawings) it resembles nothing then being built in Tuscany. Sangallo modeled the building on Roman architectural remains to be found close to Alfonso's own capital city. The same architect's Villa Poggio at Caiano, subsequently built for the Medici, reimports the Neapolitan palace type back to Florence, in a far more modest and simplified form.[44] Artistic links with the courts of Ferrara and France were increasingly important in the reign of Alfonso II, with commissions to the Modenese sculptor Guido Mazzoni and the French painter Jean Bourdichon.

The circulation of fifteenth-century Florentine artists like Sangallo on the courtly network no doubt reflects a Medici policy of promoting Florentine values and cultural hegemony throughout Italy.[45] Yet the example of Sangallo shows that Florentine artists abided less by a recognizably Florentine canon when employed elsewhere in Italy. As much as peripatetic artists from Siena or Camerino, they understood that travel called for adaptation

and particularization, as well as collaboration on-site with artisans from elsewhere.

Writers based at the courts reflected the cosmopolitan character of court patronage by developing a vocabulary, however tentative and experimental, for discriminating among artists. Well in advance of Florence, in places like Padua, Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Naples, and Urbino, poets and men of letters began to search for appropriate words to characterize the separate styles of Pisanello, Rogier van der Weyden, Mantegna, Leonardo, and others.[46] A Milanese ambassador in Florence in the 1490s improvised a terminology to describe the differences between Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, Ghirlandaio, and Perugino that (with one exception, a few remarks on Angelico, Masaccio, and Castagno by Cristoforo Landino from the 1480s) is unparalleled in Florentine records.[47] Florentines were more attentive to normative qualities, like the management of foreshortening, relief, or perspective.

Significantly less evidence exists of categories that differentiate between styles on a geographic basis, and when this does occur, it demarcates Italian from non-Italian art. An inventory of goods from the court of the Este in Ferrara in 1494 includes works ascribed to Mantegna and Bellini, as well as a portrait by "uno modenese," a painting of the Virgin with antique moldings ("cum frixi, et architravo a l'anticha"), a Madonna on canvas "a la fiamenga," a marble head of a veiled woman "facta ala francese," and a wooden tabernacle "ala todescha."[48] In 1488 a record from Naples speaks of a room in the Castel Capuano being decorated "a lo modo fiorentino," although (especially given the dearth of secular decorations in Florence from this time) it is not clear what constituted the "Florentine manner" here, or even if it designates "style" as opposed to a painting technique.[49] Regional labels are generally not applied to Italian paintings or sculptures but indicate the provenance of other categories of durable goods: an inventory drawn up on the occasion of the wedding of Drusiana Sforza in 1463 distinguishes between textiles worked "a la ferarexe" and "a la vinitiana"; similarly, jewelry and gold and silver work might be referred to as "a la venetiana," "alla milanexe," or "a la romanesca."[50] These indications of place of production show that painting and sculpture were viewed as a different kind of commodity and did not lend themselves to the market terminology for imported goods. Works of art that attracted attention did so for other than their generic qualities; they were valued as virtuosic and particularized performances, usually designated by a proper name.

On the handful of occasions when artists from a particular place are characterized as a group with common characteristics, it is usually not for positive reasons. In 1504 the Paduan humanist Pomponio Gaurico took a swipe at the *Tuscanici* who exaggerate the musculature of figures in action, chiefly Verrocchio who in his Colleoni equestrian monument for Venice "made the horse in such a crudely realistic fashion that the animal appears to be flayed."[51] (Gaurico's complaint seems to be less about Florentine style than about a lack of style, even a redundant literalism.) For the Neapolitan Pietro Summonte (to be discussed shortly), "Catalan" is a term of opprobrium. And the Carraccis' antiestablishment stance in Bologna of the 1580s was against the "odiose regole de' pittori fiorentini" (hateful rules of the Florentine painters) as well as the pervasiveness

of the Vasarian-Florentine *maniera* among their local peers, such as Prospero Fontana, Denys Calvaert, and Bartolomeo Cesi.[52]

There is no evidence that fifteenth-century art patrons or observers recognized any practice of style as a profession of adherence to a particular city or region. Styles belonged to artists, not to places; at the same time, when elite craftsmen worked away from home, distance conveyed value. Thus, when artists were recruited in the 1490s to produce altarpieces for the Certosa of Pavia, the great foundation of the Sforza rulers of Milan, the objective was to obtain works by leading painters in the various regions of northern Italy (however oddly pre-Vasarian the choice might seem now): Bartolomeo Vivarini from Venice; Bartolomeo Montagna from Vicenza in Venetian territory; Filippino Lippi from Florence; Perugino, based in Florence but distinguished by projects in Rome and Perugia; Macrino d'Alba from Asti in the duchy of Savoy, all to be set beside the works by the local Pavian artist Bergognone.[53] Their procedure resembles the one described by Filarete in his *Trattato* dedicated to the duke of Milan about 1460, in which the architect envisions his patron sparing no expense in order to employ both artists from "Italy, France, Germany—so many masters from so many places" and a pan-Italian team of artists to decorate the palace at Sforzinda: Fra Filippo Lippi of Florence, Piero della Francesca of Borgo, Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia, Andrea Mantegna of Padua, and Cosmè Tura of Ferrara.[54]

While it might be tempting to see the new altarpieces for the Certosa of Pavia as "typical" works from northern Italian local "schools," it would be more judicious to see the paintings as instantiations of the varying skills of leading artists from different places (affirming Alessandro Farnese's assertion, discussed above, of the priority of artist over place). The geographic interest lay more in the distinctiveness of artists with diverse origins rather than in any perceived "regional" characteristics of their styles. This is also the case with the great collector installations of the 1500s, like the *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este and the *camerini* of her brother, Duke Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara. However, in the case of the Ferrara *camerino*, by 1520 the array of places represented by the original roster of artists has assumed a more recognizably proto-Vasarian configuration: Venice (Bellini), Florence (Fra Bartolomeo), and Rome (Raphael), in addition to the local artist Dosso Dossi, whose considerable reputation Vasari would go to some lengths to disavow. For reasons to be explored below, these were the cities—no longer Siena, Bologna, Perugia, or Milan—that possessed cultural capital in the form of their artists.

When most of the commissions had to be fulfilled by Titian (1516–24), the artist produced works that can be seen as clear responses to Raphael (*Bacchus and Ariadne*) and Fra Bartolomeo (*Worship of Venus*)—as well as of predecessors in making mythological paintings like Mantegna and Bellini.[55] Nonetheless, the heterogeneity of styles presented in the Mantua *studiolo* are no longer visible in the mythologies for the Ferrara *camerino*: Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* was altered by Titian so that it would be more consistent with his own pictures for the duke. While it is not clear that Titian's patrons had as yet any fully formed expectations of what Venetian art had to look like, Titian's increasing dominance in Venice

meant that this was about to change (his self-identification with Venetian painting will be considered in chapter 6). In these very years the Neapolitan writer Pietro Summonte wrote of the "docta scola Veneta"—the earliest usage we have of the word "school" as a local collectivity of artists, although it remains an open question how much recent Venetian art Summonte had seen, or whether "school" designates a recognizable Venetian style.[56]

Here we should turn to Summonte's text—a letter written in 1524 to the Venetian connoisseur Marcantonio Michiel, who was composing an account (apparently never completed) of the leading artists and works of art in various Italian cities. In response to Michiel's request for information about art in Naples, Summonte characterized his city's long tradition of cosmopolitan artistic culture as no more than a symptom of relentless, irremediable decline:

> King René was also a skilled painter and was very keen on the study of the discipline, but according to the style of Flanders. He ruled [Naples] for a very short period of time, since he was expelled by King Alfonso I. The other kings of the past, who can be considered wholly Italian [già del tutto italianati], and who were keen to send for painters, sculptors, architects, and all kinds of glorious artists, were, I regret to say, ruined and removed from power at a very early stage, so that they could not leave behind any good monument.[57]

The striking neglect of Naples in the history of art, notwithstanding the quantity and quality of work produced there, has been ascribed to the scant information in Vasari, not to mention his scathing account (colored by embittered experience) of the ignorance of its ruling classes and its history of political instability.[58] Yet here, a quarter-century before Vasari, we have a local writer laying out an equally despondent view of the fortunes of art in Naples, deploring the city's catastrophic discontinuity, the philistinism of its rulers, and—most important—its dependence on "foreign" talent. All of this had been exacerbated by the city's recently reduced status, following the wars of Italy, to the provincial capital of a global Habsburg empire. Since Giotto's time, according to Summonte, there had been no good painters in Naples until the emergence of Colantonio (c. 1440–70), who painted, like René of Anjou, in the "style of Flanders." Alfonso I's great Hall of the Barons in the Castel Nuovo is a mighty work, but in a foreign and not in an *all'antica* style (his hybrid Latin-Italian captures the anomaly: "ma e cosa catalane, nihil omnino habens veteris architecturae"). Carved tombs "reek of the modern, and of the evil times in which they were made," being all "French, German and barbarian."[59] Summonte already has a particular model of the artistic center in mind, to which Naples clearly failed to measure up. For him, Florence now provided the standard: the Tuscan city maintained a coherent tradition of largely native artists; it was a source or origin that exported its cultural and artistic merit. "Florence should not be deprived of praise due to her, because there began not only painting, sculpture, architecture and the other honored mechanical arts, but also the study of letters." Yet even the Florentines—and here Summonte might be thinking of Sangallo—are faulted for "bastardizing" the good antique style of architecture with *errori moderni*.

Summonte's text marks an important shift. What he takes to be the model of an artistic center—a polity that nurtures an indigenous artistic community—is increasingly valorized in the emerging art literature of the 1500s and in subsequent histories of Italian art down to the present. With hindsight, we can make a distinction that Summonte—witnessing the plight of occupied Naples—would probably not have recognized. We might describe Naples not according to a "national" model but according to an older or premodern concept of a ruling metropolis, where a city becomes the focus of artistic activity, drawing from a very wide area. This centripetal dynamic sustains the city's cosmopolitan identity, its capacity to draw the best of everything to itself: Genoa followed on the heels of Naples, as did Venice—which had long imported architectural styles along with cultural spoils from across the Mediterranean region—Visconti and Sforza Milan, and smaller states like Ferrara, Rimini, and Urbino.[60] For Summonte in 1524, however, Naples's past as a world city, a cultural crossroads where artists from multiple traditions encountered each other, was a sign of weakness rather than greatness.

What Was Italy?

Summonte had a clear idea of "Italian" as opposed to "Catalan" and "Flemish" artistic *modi*. So, too, the artists in this book—Lotto, Ferrari, Polidoro, Cesare da Sesto, Moretto—expressed an idea of being Italian, manifest in their engagement with a variety of artistic models throughout the peninsula, a way of working that was largely under eclipse by the end of their careers, displaced by a hierarchical system of regional styles.

Any Renaissance commentator who considered the existence of an entity called "Italy" had to confront the question of what that designation meant, beyond a politically and culturally disjointed landmass. For Fazio degli Uberti, whose *Dittamondo* (c. 1348–60) described a brisk panoramic voyage through the major regions and cities of the known world, Italy was a landmass "shaped like an oak leaf," with Augusta (Turin) as its northernmost city and Reggio at its lowest extremity; it owed its name to one "Italus" who had come from Syracuse in Sicily (itself described in some detail in two subsequent books of the poem).[61] Although Fazio occasionally alluded to political strife, the Italy he described was a great *locus amoenus*, its defining culture emphatically that of the courts he frequented as a Ghibelline exile from Florence:

> Here are safe ports and fine beaches; here beautiful lands and great plains full of wild birds and beasts, here vines, olives and broad pastures; here are noble cities and fine castles adorned with palatial quarters and high walls, with the faces of elegant lovely women, with courteous men raised in gentility, skilled in arms and in hunting and hawking. The air is clear and temperate; soft and gentle winds there blow, full of love, honor and wealth.[62]

In his *De vulgari eloquentia*, Fazio's older contemporary Dante conceived Italy as an ideal of civilization based on the eloquent poetic ideals of the courts: "we can define the illustrious, cardinal, aulic, and curial vernacular in Italy as that which belongs to every Italian city

yet seems to belong to none, and against which the vernaculars of all the cities of Italy can be measured, weighted and compared."[63] The language was still called "Sicilian" because it had flourished when Emperor Frederick II and his heirs had ruled over the kingdom of Sicily. For Dante, the court (*aula*) is no longer a centralization of power, as under the empire, but a transregional ideal of civilization and refinement: "those who frequent any royal court always speak an illustrious vernacular; it is also why our illustrious vernacular wanders around like a homeless stranger, finding hospitality in more humble homes—because we have no court."[64]

In the late Renaissance this ideal of a "courtly" Italy, a network of ritualized "theater-states" (to use Clifford Geertz's term), where well-connected travelers could drift from one lavish princely gala to another, persists in a much elaborated form. It is found again in Federico Zuccari's 1608 *Il passaggio per Italia*, which in large part consists of descriptions of comedies and intermezzi, of being "among knights and ladies, in delicious pleasure at feasts and banquets, with gentle dances and warriors skilled in arms."[65] For others between Dante and Zuccari, however, who wrote about the topography, history, and languages of the peninsula, Italy was a multifarious entity; writing about Italy entailed an ability to discriminate between ever more subtle levels of cultural complexity.

In his *Italia illustrata*, begun in 1447 but incomplete at his death in 1463, the humanist geographer Flavio Biondo incorporated material from the *Dittamondo* (including the oak leaf simile), but his book is dominated by the chasm between Roman Italia as recorded by Ptolemy and others, and the peninsula's present state. Probably conceived with the expansionist ambitions of its original patron, King Alfonso of Naples, in mind, Biondo's survey of Italy is largely devoted to recovery of a lost unity, to be restored to wholeness and legibility by philological and archaeological means. Biondo writes of a peninsula blighted by centuries of violence and seems personally invested in countering the resulting erasure of memory: in his own time, he writes, "thirty cities and towns have been razed."[66] It was as if the land preserved traces of an idea of unity and wholeness after a history of catastrophic extinction continuing through the present: the task was to tie landscape to the memory of what is lost. Biondo thus reimagined the peninsula as the Roman province of Italia, where regional divisions recorded by Pliny—"Etruria," "Picenum," "Liguria"—conveyed the natural order of physical geography and an ethnography of lost peoples, but not the borders of contemporary states. This exhumation of an originary Italia permits the fractious instability and fragmentation of the present to be contained, although not circumvented: "I shall pass over the remoter regions of Liguria, regarding it as sufficient if I adapt to our own times the regional division of Italy that obtained while the Roman Republic was at the height of its power."[67] By this means Biondo also resolves the problem of the ambiguity of Italy's current borders: Liguria extends into the French Riviera as far as Nice, following the old Roman region, while the rest of the medieval duchy of Savoy, which is Italian- and French- speaking, is omitted; the modern papal state receives no

separate treatment, appearing only in redistributed form among several geographic sections. The Italy of *Italia illustrata* is a mosaic of memory sites, of past political events spanning two millennia, of extant cities along with their individual historical origins and famous men (many still living when Biondo wrote) and cities and peoples now lost or in the process of disappearing, of vividly described landscapes with features unmentioned by the ancients. Biondo is a testament to the perception of Italy as an array of places, *without hierarchy or center* (Rome, although still "without equal," is a city that has lost its thronging population). Places make both the past and the present vital and tangible, while the larger entity is a ghostly abstraction. Above all, the *Italia illustrata* speaks of the fragility of places, seemingly always at risk of oblivion; it conveys a sense of the lack of visibility or legibility of place without the tracing and inscription here adduced as the work of the humanist geographer.

Like Dante before him, Biondo believed in an "Italy," however fragile and fugitive it might appear, where proliferating cultural differences, a landscape of mutation and oblivion, were just barely held in place by a Plinian map, or—in Dante's case—by a synthetic ideal of courtly poetry drawn from multiple dialects. Both writers insisted on the differences between Italians and Germans, or French, or Spaniards. Yet to invoke "Italy" from the 1300s to the 1500s required that its bewildering array of internal differences—of customs, language, costume—had somehow to be given a positive characterization. In 1528 Baldassare Castiglione worried that Italians' taste for cosmopolitan luxury was linked to a catastrophic fragmentation that was both the signal and the cause of foreign domination: "I do not know by what fate it happens that Italy does not have, as it used to, a distinctively Italian costume: for although the new fashions in use may make earlier ways of dressing appear uncouth, still these were perhaps a sign of our freedom, as the former have proved to be an augury of servitude, in my opinion now clearly fulfilled."[68] For Cesare Vecellio, however, in his *Degli habiti antichi e moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (1590 and 1598), the diversity in Italian dress was a sign of Italy's marvelous variety, its rich history, and the capricious individualism of Italians. "Italy" is ideally to be personified not, as in the case of other "natione e regione" by a distinctive national costume, but by a naked man holding a bolt of cloth over his shoulder, the figure of an identity still (and perhaps never) to be formed.[69]

All manner of differences were conceptualized through the idea of place. At the same time, places are revealed to be unstable and mutable entities, conceivable only through comparison or through mutual interference. For Dante, dialect forms were not simply mutations from an Ur-form of the Italian language but proceeded from promiscuous interactions and comminglings: the citizens of Bologna "take a soft, yielding quality from those of Imola, and from the people of Ferrara and Modena, on the other hand, a certain abruptness which is more typical of the Lombards."[70] By the 1500s, when Dante's text was redeployed in a controversy about Italian language and cultural identity, the flexibility of his syncretic ideal was taken as a sign of weakness.

Models for Renaissance Cultural Geography: Dialect Pluralism versus Literary Canons

By 1500 the sense of a distinct Italian literary tradition had emerged, a phenomenon that alone would distinguish Italy from other premodern European cultural identities.[71] The pursuit of a linguistic and literary norm that would transcend regional differences and variations culminated with the influential bid by the scholar-poet Pietro Bembo to create a standard literary Italian modeled on the canonical Tuscan writers of the 1300s, Petrarch and Boccaccio. Dante's more pluralist model of a transregional courtly vernacular in *De vulgari eloquentia* was rediscovered and published in 1529 by Gian Giorgio Trissino, an opponent of Bembo's monolithic Tusco-centrism in the controversy known as the *questione della lingua*.

Bembo's promotion of a normative vernacular ushered in a broader set of preoccupations with normative style and canon formation in other domains, especially the visual arts. This ultimately involved distinctions between the "centers" and the "regions"—a hierarchical mapping of Italian art in terms of progressive and provincial tendencies that has continued into the present. The increasing preoccupation with Italian identity in the 1500s in large measure resulted from the status quo after the Italian Wars, when the decisive Battle of Pavia in 1524 led the way for the extension of Habsburg power in Italy. Naples, Sicily, and most of Lombardy came to be ruled by imperial viceroys, who were often Spanish; the duchy of Florence and the republic of Genoa were effectively dependencies of Charles V. While Habsburg rule brought a degree of stability and integration, even a suspension of conflict sometimes called a "pax Hispanica," the Spanish presence was resented: Spanish clergy and nobility were caricatured as heretics, *marranos* (Christianized Jews), and "white Moors," and following events, like the 1527 Sack of Rome, were often seen as agents of catastrophe.[72] Indeed, the ultimate legacy of "Spanish Italy" was that it catalyzed a much more powerful (if reductive) nationalist ideology with still current and conflicted ramifications—"Italian Italy."[73]

Whereas more than eighty city-states had existed in Italy around 1300, by the time of the Peace of Lodi in 1454 there were fewer than fifteen, and fewer still a century later.[74] Within the larger territorial states, such as the Venetian republic, a political and cultural tradition of relative autonomy had prevailed; yet this "polycentric" Italy of the era before 1524 would be ideologically recast as a vast periphery by new cultural institutions like the academies. Such perceptions—their impact, for instance, on literature, historiography, patronage, and collecting—had real historical force. Particularism, the celebration of Italy's urban and regional variety, could be expressed at the price of adopting the language and literary idioms of the center. Thus, by the mid-sixteenth century, ideas of what made place important had significantly contracted. Cultural authority now tended to coincide more closely with urban and territorial monopolies of political and economic influence. Literary dialogues about the ideal courtier, or debates about the Italian language, or about the most important artists of the age, manifest a widespread preoccupation with what it meant to be Italian in the

shadow of Spain, but they also tended to narrow the options.

Despite and even in defiance of Bembo, a lively culture of local vernacular literatures flourished in sixteenth-century Italy. The forms of the *volgore* would have their own philologists who compiled lexicons and grammars of Genoese, Neapolitan, Perugian, and so on. Likewise, literary composition and publication in dialects were on the rise: the stage plays of Andrea Calmo, il Ruzzante, and Matteo Podiani are all written in a plurilingual mode, blending Tuscan with Perugian in Podiani's case or, in Calmo's, creating a chaotic mix of Venetian, Paduan, and Bergamasque.[75] Nonetheless, this vernacular culture was marginal and local by definition: connecting it to a larger cultural identity proved to be a problem. Writing about Gabriele Giolito's *Rime diverse*, a compendium of short poems by ninety-two authors from Tuscany, Lombardy, the Veneto, the Marches, Umbria, and Naples, dedicated in 1545 to the viceroy Don Diego Hurtado di Mendoza, William Kennedy sees evidence of "willed belief in pan-Italian unity that thrives because of its diversity. Italian pride in the multiform character of Italy, in the cellular particularism of its principalities and municipalities, has become a principle that unites its various peoples against domination by larger powers."[76] The poems abound in "topographical figurations with praise of rivers and streams, mountains and plains, cities and palaces that register deep local sentiment." Yet Italian multiformity here—Giolito proclaimed that the anthology celebrated "i piu rari autori della lingua nostra," praiseworthy for "the diversity of conception and variety of styles"—was being expressed in a homogeneous Petrarchan idiom; the publishing venture is a sign of the authority of Bembo (seventeen of whose poems were included) and the impact of his reform of literary language.

As a Tuscan who scarcely knew his birthplace and who lived most of his life in Avignon and at the courts of northern Italy, Petrarch could be taken as an eminently suitable model for a transregional language, one that could be cultivated in Venice as much as in Naples. Even so, the universality of Petrarch was undermined by Florentine insistence that Petrarch belonged to them. This had already occurred when Lorenzo de' Medici sent an anthology of Italian verse, known as the *Raccolta aragonese*, to King Ferrante of Aragon in 1476, with a preface celebrating the superiority of the Tuscan language and predicting that it would reach its maturity with the growth of the *fiorentino imperio*—the Florentine empire. Thus, the Venetian Bembo's promotion of Tuscan and its adoption by the Ferrarese Ludovico Ariosto, the Neapolitan Jacopo Sannazaro, and the Catalan Cariteo facilitated its emergence as an instrument of cultural hegemony by the new dynastic Tuscan state created in 1530 and by means of such institutions as the Academia fiorentina, soon to be paralleled by an Academia del disegno, making the production of art into an apparatus of state.[77]

The epoch ends with the reemergence of Rome as the seat of an autocratic and territorial power as well as of universal spiritual authority, reasserting its mythical identity as "center of all centers" in a confessionally divided Europe and as the promoter of a particular image of Italy. The latter reached its climax in the grand projects of popes from Gregory XIII onward, such as the Gallery of Maps of the regions

of Italy in the Vatican. The Gallery of Maps certainly served the ideology of papal supremacy: in the vault, depictions of miracle sites like Loreto established the peninsula as a great sacred landscape under the more-than-spiritual leadership of the Church. At the same time, the cycle of maps monumentalized the idea of Italy as a single geographic and historical entity.[78] In a series of parallel endeavors, Italians established a cultural authority—one that was recognized throughout Europe—as proxy for a political one. Italian culture was put on display through the emergence not only of artistic canons but of pan-Italian histories (Guicciardini), literary canons (Gioliti), dictionaries (the *vocabolario* of the Academia della Crusca), geographies (Leandro Alberti), and cartographies (Ignazio Danti).

As the sixteenth century advanced, as a process of artistic canon formation took hold, with artists now ranked on the basis of their origin and training, artists outside Rome, Florence, or Venice would have encountered an acute sense of displacement, or even what in Vasari's terms could only be recognized as a kind of exile. It was as if there were no future for a new Mantegna or a new Correggio to emerge in the endless peripheries of the peninsula. The recognition of canonical centers changed how artists and what they produced were connected with place, a process that we will see unfolding in the careers of artists like Lotto, or Romanino, or his fellow Brescian Moretto, or Gaudenzio Ferrari. Long before the Carracci of Bologna openly defied the Florentine-Roman monopolization of the center, the work of these artists (many of them important for the Carracci) comes to register an acute sense of being off the axis constituted by Rome-Florence-Venice, exploring alternative topographies of artistic value. It is precisely in their place-character, their connection of local with transregional concerns, that Italian Renaissance works of art can be seen to stage relations to antecedents and memories of other works; in that way, works of art themselves effectively constitute counter-Vasarian historiographies.

2 *Place, Event, and the Geopolitics of Art*

This book is not concerned with works of art as representations of place, in the sense of responses to a place's physical givenness, or even with style as a bearer of local or regional character and identity. To be sure, the pronounced regional character of built places in Italy has long engaged the attention of travel writers, architectural historians, and environmentalists—for instance, the distinctive uses of local stone in cities like Catania, Ascoli, or Verona, or the local associations of a form of artistic production, such as the painted wooden sculptures of the Abruzzi. The present study instead considers a distinctively Renaissance tendency, primarily in painting and sculpture: a fluid and dynamic conception of place, whereby it is *places* that are articulated and distinguished by artifacts, rather than vice versa, and frequently in ways that call into question any sense of the unique, the autochthonous, of an elemental relation of an artifact to a location. In the pre-Vasarian age, and even after early modern art historiography insisted on the distinction between "Florentine" and "Venetian" and "Lombard" schools, among others, the sense of "here" is produced in relationship to multiple "theres": this is not a relation grounded in what would be called artistic "influence,"

but one of symbolic relocations, topomimetic appropriations, systematic quotation and emulation, a cosmopolitan understanding of artistic practice across the peninsula. Examples will include the generation of a "Roman" identity for the rich and cosmopolitan city of Messina in Sicily; new pilgrimage sites such as Varallo, where an elaborate shaping of the pilgrims' spatial experience compensated for the absence of a founding miracle; the creation of urban identities in the hinterland of Loreto, emerging as Europe's most important Marian shrine; the attempt to frame and define through images the spatial practices surrounding the cult of the Eucharist in an imagined landscape of religious heterodoxy (Bergamo and Brescia); the predicament of Titian, late in his career, as he managed the role of being both chief Italian painter to the Habsburgs and the leading "Venetian" painter in the city of Venice. In these cases, works of painting and sculpture respond to an increasingly *perspectival* and ideological geography being imposed from elsewhere, through which physical geography is reordered in progressively hierarchical terms. I have hence preferred the term "geopolitics of art" in my title over "geography of art," since rather than tracking the diffusion of artistic styles and models, I am interested in the constructive role of art in shaping and mediating the relation to place, the spatial imaginary, of premodern historical subjects—and this is, inescapably, a political operation.[1]

Such geopolitically-oriented approaches to the geography of art have emerged in recent decades (or, in a sense, reemerged, in the wake of a discredited, racializing *Kunstgeographie* in the early and mid-twentieth century), so far with little impact on the study of the Italian Renaissance.[2] Certainly, far more attention is paid now than ever before to artists and locations off the Vasarian axis: seldom called into question, however, is the preeminence of canonical centers, the account of one-way diffusion from centers to provinces, the integrity or stability of style groups and regional styles, and even the principle of "influence." Following broader tendencies in an emerging global history of art, our goal should be a rethinking of Vasari's axial hierarchy of places. In other words, how does our attention to artists working in, say, Ferrara or Ascoli constitute more than an investigation of the local? In what ways can such interventions deform the "-centric" tendencies in a larger formation—the Vasarian mapping of Italian art—that rolls space into time, into heroic narratives of confrontation and resignation, of victory over the past and the provincial? Alternative formations have been sought, but they, too, seem designed to hold the risk of rhizomatic chaos at bay with new forms of axial hierarchy.

The binary construction "center and periphery" has been embraced in recent decades as an alternative to a long-standing tension in Italian historiography between local history or microhistory, on the one hand, and larger transpeninsular (sometimes explicitly national or nationalist) narratives, on the other—a controversy that led Benedetto Croce in 1936 to reject the possibility of a unitary Italian history before the formation of the modern nation in 1861.[3] In their influential essay "Centro e periferia" of 1979 (revised in 1981) the art historian Enrico Castelnuovo and the historian Carlo Ginzburg sought to develop a structural model in which cultural production across the peninsula could be understood in terms of

a network of mainly medieval urban foundations, some destined to flourish and others to decline. Artistic centers, they wrote, "may be defined as places which are characterized by the presence of an outstanding number of artists and of important groups of patrons who for various motives—family or individual pride, a desire for hegemony, a yearning for eternal salvation—are prepared to invest part of their wealth in works of art." They added the qualification that a center is also characterized by the production of surplus wealth, which can be invested in art, and the more original perception that "only a center of extra-artistic power (political and/or economic and/or religious) can be an artistic center."[4] For these scholars, strongly committed to a materialist historiography and to an essentially geopolitical analysis, the concentration of art in one site is not enough: there has to be a market, a degree of professional organization, and an additional source of legitimation, what we might now call cultural capital.

The periphery, in Castelnuovo and Ginzburg's account, has a twofold significance: it designates not only what one might call the "provincial" but also what some more recent geographic thinkers, following Michel Foucault, call the "heterotopic."[5] The periphery is not just the passive provincial deposit of powerful influences imported from a center; it is a place with the potential for critical distance, oppositionality, and innovation. It is less a topographical fact than a geopolitical construct, a manifestation of "cognitive mapping" by groups and by individuals.[6] Artistic style in sites off the axis could speak not just of the inevitable diffusion of Vasari's modern manner but of real alternatives. The weight given to style and to artistic intentions is a notable feature of Castelnuovo and Ginzburg's use of the center/periphery model, which they formulated with terminology from the social sciences.[7] What will bear some critical examination is what one might call (following the philosopher Edward Casey) the "fate of place" in their account, especially when most instances of place discussed in the present book would, in their terms, be allocated to the so-called periphery. What kind of *place* is a periphery?

Whereas centers are defined with a cartographic degree of precision, peripheries (for Ginzburg and Castelnuovo) are inchoate geographically as well as conceptually: ubiquitous, overlapping, indefinitely extended. On the one hand, a periphery is the opposite of a center: it lacks the combined continuity of patronage, institutions, and public sphere that sustain the artistic culture of a city like Florence. On the other, it is a provincial site of "delayed development" frequented by artists edged out by competition in the urban markets, like the Umbrian towns where Perugino worked after 1512, when demand for his work receded in Florence and Rome. Yet again, it is a site of real potential, "the place of alternative production" or, as Ginzburg and Castelnuovo also call it, the place of "side stepping."[8] The periphery is a place for artists (especially wandering artists like Lorenzo Lotto or Tanzio da Varallo) who seek to pursue heterodox approaches not welcome in the centers.[9] Sometimes it is an extended region as opposed to a city, such as the Marches traversed by Lotto in different phases of his career, or the Piedmont of Defendente Ferrari.[10] Or it is a city of diminished political importance, such as the ducal capital of Urbino to which Federico Barocci withdrew in

the midst of a successful career in Rome, or a provincial town like Valescio, in which Tanzio settled after years in Milan. More surprisingly, a major political and administrative capital like Avignon is also classed by Castelnuovo and Ginzburg as a peripheral site for a resistance to Giotto on the part of Italian artists like Matteo Giovanetti and Simone Martini. It becomes apparent that the periphery might finally have nothing to do with space or distance. Florence in the 1500s is revealed to contain its own periphery, in the person of Pontormo and "anticlassical" artists, who "operated in rather eccentric conditions, or used weapons [against classicism] imported from a peripheral culture such as the German culture."[11]

It is also apparent that most of the artistic production in Italy could be fitted to one or another of these versions of the "periphery." One gets the impression that Italian art from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century underwent a process of peripheralization in relation to Florence, Rome, or Venice, and that even polemical alternative accounts appearing from the sixteenth well into the eighteenth century were unable to dislodge Vasari's view of where important art came from. At the same time, the problematic association of Avignon with the category of "periphery" by Ginzburg and Castelnuovo and the ambiguous and undefined status of Genoa or Naples might make it appear that the term "periphery" is doing far too much work, that its usefulness is compromised through overextension.[12]

A modification of terms is necessary, and above all, a more historically inflected usage of terms like "center" and "periphery."[13] In the 1400s the basis on which a city might be distinguished from a town or a village was not always clear-cut: geographers like Biondo maintained the old Latin distinctions between *urbs*, a major city or town (Florence, Perugia, Siena, Chiusi); *civitas*, a smaller town (Urbino, Fermo, Foligno, Camerino, Brescia); *oppidum*, a small town or village (Montepulciano, Montefalco, San Elpidio al Mare); and *castellum*, a smaller village (Porto San Giorgio near Fermo). These categories seem far from consistent, since they have little to do with the current size or population of the places they include. As Biondo himself records, Chiusi is an *urbs* and distinguished by a bishopric (a common medieval and then still current way of classifying a *civitas*), but it is now a marginal subject of Siena, dilapidated and almost abandoned. The vernacular is even more ambiguous: while a *città* might be distinguished from a *borgo*, a *villaggio*, or a *castello*, there are no contemporaneous terms corresponding to the hierarchical distinction between the Latin *urbs* and *oppidum*.[14]

In some usages *urbs*, like *caput mundi*, was a term used exclusively for Rome, in its symbolic designation as center of a universal empire and of Roman Catholicism. Such Roman exceptionalism was challenged by other cities, however. Palermo in the 1570s asserted its uniqueness in having been granted the designation *urbs* by the Romans, and the rival city of Messina considered itself to be *caput siciliae*.[15] Rome as *caput mundi* provided cities in premodern Italy (and elsewhere) with an emulative model of political and cultural preeminence, reinforcing the self-promotion of several different polities (Siena, Padua, Florence, Venice, Milan, Messina) as *altera Roma* or "new Rome"—often with significant consequences for art and architectural patronage

and for city planning.[16] It could be said that this "idea of Rome" provided the model for a kind of cosmopolitan and even multicultural "world city" long before the reemergence of Rome as geopolitical center during the Renaissance. It was, however, a model destined to give place to other, newer paradigms.

To be clear: I am not calling into question here the actuality of centers and peripheries, when these are defined in political and economic terms. Culturally speaking, however, the distinction is far more an ideological and symbolic one, an operation of the imaginary that could (and still can) be confronted and overturned. "Symbolic domination" (Castelnuovo and Ginzburg) and "diffusion" (Kaufmann) can be productive ways of thinking about the protocolonial uses of art by, for instance, Florence or Siena in their peripheral communes. A recent survey of patronage among the aristocracy of the kingdom of Naples at their feudal seats has revealed a good deal about the exemplary role of royal commissions in the capital for smaller municipalities—often the seats of feudal nobility—in Calabria and other regions, where a process of replication is often apparent.[17] Replication, already apparent in the commissions of the Neapolitan elite, is not to be seen inevitably as a sign of cultural dependency or provincialism. (George Hersey, on observing that the Piccolomini tomb in the Neapolitan church of Monteoliveto was a close replica of the tomb of the cardinal of Portugal in Florence, pronounced it "therefore of no great intrinsic interest in the general history of Italian art.")[18]

Long before Castelnuovo and Ginzburg published their essay, George Kubler in 1943 applied a version of the model to describe the impact of new Spanish colonial cities in Mexico and New Mexico, contrasting the "fast-time" developments of the metropolis with their slow reception and transformation across the vast areas between the urban centers.[19] Kubler's productive use of the model only serves to highlight its shortcomings with regard to Italy between 1450 and 1560, an epoch of rapid political and cultural transformation, and where the dynamic of peripheralization is only in part to be explained by Spanish colonial rule. The division of the more intensely urbanized peninsula into artistic "centers" and "peripheries" was as much the result of as a push toward cultural (if not full political) autonomy by states not under direct Spanish control.

The peripheralization we are addressing here is an ideological operation, reproduced in post-Vasarian art historiography up to the present day. Artists not heedful of a Roman-Venetian canon of places and works, if not actually dismissed as provincial by modern art history, are characteristically regarded as isolated individualists, anticlassical "eccentrics," or even tormented existentialists. (The recent popularizing presentation of artists such as Lotto, Romanino, and Pordenone with exhibitions and publications subtitled "Per una geografia dell'anima" or "Un Cinquecento inquieto" are typical examples.) Furthermore, however much the distinction between "centers" and "peripheries" might describe a status quo based on economic and political power, we must remember that topographies of value based on such criteria are largely those of our own time. Even while one might view them as emerging in the early modern period, there were premodern alternatives: makers and

users of art recognized place in terms other than economic and political hierarchies of value. For instance, proponents of the center-periphery model have regarded the Sacro Monte of Varallo as a site in the periphery of a metropolis, the city of Milan. Varallo (to be discussed in chapter 4) nonetheless claimed importance on completely different terms: that it was nothing less than a replication of the Holy Land, even equaling and replacing it as a sacred pilgrimage destination. It constitutes a model of place, even an alternative model of the center, that is not definable in terms of political or urban identity. Even its economy, founded in large part on votive donations in return for grace or salvation, transcends ordinary market transactions. Not long before the emergence of the Sacro Monte in Lombardy, the shrine of the Holy House of Loreto was becoming one of the richest pilgrimage destinations in Europe. Loreto was defined very explicitly as a wilderness, a holy place on common ground, and one that the Virgin herself had chosen for its centrality in Italy, and in the Mediterranean. Here Foucault's term "heterotopia" becomes suggestive. Loreto, like Varallo, was (and still is) a counter-site, "a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted"—places, often sites of the sacred, that elude the emerging oppositional structures of urban life (work/leisure, public/private, governed/unregulated, even urban/rural).[20] Their effect is to produce an oppositional attraction that might draw authority away from a metropolitan center. Such sites, as we shall see, are often generated through an array of charismatic objects and images, holy bodies and sacred spaces, such as relics, shrines, icons of the Virgin, or the Eucharist itself—objects paradoxically not bounded by the local but equally efficacious elsewhere.

As practiced until now, the geographic study of art does not normally confront the fact that Renaissance works of art stage fictive geographies of their own, that they can be seen as topical interventions within real spaces, that their imaginary topographies link actual locations to a spatial "elsewhere." A particularly dramatic example is provided by a cardinal's chapel in mid-fifteenth-century Rome, a time when the battered and lawless city was seeking to recover its status as a center of papal authority with global aspirations (fig. 2.1).[21] Cardinal Bessarion's chapel in his titular basilica of Santi Apostoli was completed by Lorenzo da Viterbo and Antoniazzo Romano in 1464–68. Centered on Antoniazzo's copy of the Marian icon in Santa Maria in Cosmedin (the church of the Greek community in Rome), the murals (now heavily damaged) depict two miraculous manifestations of St. Michael the Archangel. The left-hand scene shows the appearance of a missile-repelling bull at the cave of Monte Sant'Angelo on the Gargano peninsula in Puglia, one of several signs that guaranteed the angel's protection of the town of Siponto and its ultimate victory over Byzantine Greeks (or, according to *The Golden Legend*, the still pagan Neapolitans). The facing wall presents the French legend of the apparition of Michael to Aubert, bishop of Avranches, at the gulf of Saint-Malo in Brittany, and the foundation of a sanctuary overlooking the sea, linked to the mainland by a causeway. The cycle of images connects Santi Apostoli spatially to other appearances of the archangel, such as those

2.1 Antoniazzo Romano, Murals in the Chapel of Cardinal Bessarion, details. 1464–68. Fresco. Rome, SS. Apostoli. Credit: Wikimedia Commons (Peter 1936F).

in Rome itself. During the papacy of Gregory the Great (590–604), Michael had appeared on the summit of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, subsequently called the Castel Sant'Angelo (it was reported that the angel had reappeared during the plague epidemics of the fourteenth century).[22] It is possible, given the presence of the icon and Bessarion's leadership of the expatriate Greek community, that a fourth apparition of the angel is also referred to, at the so-called Michaelion founded by Constantine at Sothenion near Byzantium. Thus, the imagery bids the viewer to imagine the immediate site—the chapel, the church, and the city of Rome—as the heart of a vast global continuum extending to the north and the south, and also linking East and West: groups of friars (brown-robed Franciscans) and monks (black-robed Basilians) represent the Eastern and Western clergy and the dream of an undivided Christendom. Rome's imperial centrality as *caput mundi* is reimagined in entirely other terms, with the city designated as the preeminent site in a network of places where angelic intervention manifested divine providence. The idea of the warrior saint's sanctuary is extended in space to the notional frontiers of Christendom itself, a particularly powerful idea in the wake of the sack of Constantinople scarcely more than a decade before.

A more ubiquitous example of virtual topography is seen in the increasing role of landscape in Italian painting from the late 1400s, as already noted with regard to Bellini's Pesaro altarpiece. Venetian painting, by the end of the fifteenth century, sometimes included plausible views of an Italian mainland landscape, and on occasion with topographical precision. Frequently appearing in works for churches in the entirely different urban milieu of the maritime city, these landscape backgrounds have sometimes been connected with the expansionist territorial interests of the Venetian state.[23] At the same time, the landscapes in late fifteenth-century northern Italian painting could be radically heterotopic, insisting on an elsewhere manifestly unlike local (or, in fact, any real) landscape. In Lombardy and the Po Valley the landscape setting might assume the form of a fantastical "nonplace" of jagged and cavernous rock formations with winding paths, natural bridges, and buildings partly carved from living rock (fig. 2.2). Such an imagined landscape figures the space outside and between cities as wild, uncultivated, uncivilized, often menacing—thus, as the opposite of the courtly and the civic. Correspondingly, this construction of space through sculptural masses that obstruct middle grounds, that afford occasional glimpses of a radiant "beyond," is seldom naturalistic or descriptive, and it disregards the geometric cage of Albertian perspective. This imaginary, nontopographical landscape is especially typical of the Paduan followers of Squarcione and Mantegna, and characteristic of the work of Marco Zoppo in Pesaro and Bologna, of Cosmè Tura and Francesco del Cossa in Ferrara, and of Bernardino Zenale in Milan, as well as of painters in Brescia, Cremona, Bologna, and the Romagna. Leonardo drew on this construction in his *Virgin of the Rocks* of the 1480s. Notably, this heterotopic landscape—a hazardous space that must be arduously crossed, not one in which to linger—is paradoxically translatable and extendable. By "overlooking" the local or topographical, it allows the opening of a continuum—even a spatially discontinuous

2.2 Master of the Pala Bertoni (Leonardo Scaletti?), *Virgin and Child with Saints and the Blessed Beato Filippo Bertoni.* After 1483. On panel, 136.5 × 200 cm (without frame). Faenza, Pinacoteca comunale. Credit: Pinacoteca comunale di Faenza.

one—between points of civility and urbanity over an extended area, from the Adriatic to the Alps.[24]

Works of art in such areas constitute a self-referential network, which may designate a local zone of common patronage and cultural and religious identities: alternatively, clusters of works can register forms of contact and implicit identification with other places, drawing them into an extensive transregional community. In an analogous sense, modern geographic and anthropological thought has used the term "landscape" metaphorically to designate a subjective or imaginary conception of territory, a continuum defined by other means (religious, ethnic) than topographical, national, or geopolitical ones. Arjun Appadurai uses "landscape" to define perceptions of space not based on "objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but, rather . . . deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors" (whether religious, political, or economic).[25] Such

shared spatial fictions not only organized the representation of landscape in Renaissance painting but also determined how people imagined a sense of continuum between themselves and remote or disconnected sites of value or allegiance: court society, "Roman" Italy and its *mirabilia*, sacred destinations.[26]

Place in Relational Geography

The struggle in art history to force a variety of contexts, sites, and experiences into the unwieldy mold of the "periphery" appears in a different light if we turn to the vigorous debates about the definition of "place" in geography, critical geopolitics, and social theory. Scholars in these disciplines have foregrounded the question of how to arrive at a level of prescriptive or theoretical generality about something usually seen as unique by definition, even as threatened by totalization or abstraction. In "place studies," as taken up by scholars of religion, geography, and landscape architecture in the last three decades, the radical particularity of place is a constant. This is the case no matter whether place is characterized by Marxists or postmodernists as a sociohistorical construct, or by phenomenologically oriented thinkers as "deeper than meaning and materiality, something that could not be reduced to the social, the cultural or the natural,"[27] and thus a precious and fragile component in human experience. Several thinkers in the latter group—Edward Casey and the humanist geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, both drawing on Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty—have turned to works of art as an expressive response to the "power of place," and in approaches that have usually privileged landscape—whether architectural adaptations to landscape, landscape paintings (mainly from the 1600s to the1800s), or works of cartography.[28]

Such approaches posit a kind of plenitude in the experience of the topographically particular, an ontological authenticity in location that has been lost to the nonplaces of modernity. Modernity, industrialization, technological space-time reduction, and globalization are all seen as menacing an increasingly vulnerable particularity of place. The authentic sense of place gives way to the geometric or "metric space" of modernity—infinitely extendable and capable of leveling particularity. "In these terms," David Summers writes in his book *Real Spaces*, summarizing a tradition of negative commentary on modern spatiality from Friedrich Schiller through Max Weber and Ernst Cassirer to Henri Lefebvre,

> the world of metric space is a fungible, culturally homogeneous world of the flow of capital and power, of "spectacle" and panoptical surveillance. In more narrowly art-historical terms, such ideas have deeply shaped analyses of perspective (a harbinger of rationalization), visuality (the social construction of vision), and urban planning from the beginnings of European modernity. Space has become part of Weber's "iron cage."[29]

Summers proceeds to make place and "real space" central to a revisionist program for a global history of art, in an inclusive approach that allows him to consider all manner of artifacts, not just landscapes or "represented places." When he writes that "the representation of virtual space—in addition to being culturally

specific in its own right—is always united with a format and therefore with a construction of real space, which is thus prior to any representation,"[30] his "real space" includes the entire spectrum of social determinants and functions normally adduced to supply a context for the work of art.

His notion of "place," by contrast, conceives of an organic interrelation of the art object and its location. "Places are . . . not metric or merely positional, corresponding to abstract points marked on a grid map, rather they are geophysical areas, with specific characteristics and qualities, more or less explicitly bounded, centered, and divided. Places may make themselves, so to speak, by virtue of their extraordinary qualities, or by extraordinary powers manifested in them, but such places are usually also more or less explicitly bounded and distinguished by facture."[31] In his account of art and place Summers favors monumental constructions (his typology of premodern place is hence the ziggurat, the acropolis, the stupa, and so on), conceived as centered and bounded, coordinated with the natural world, or as so deeply sedimented in a site that they seem naturally "rooted" rather than culturally constructed. All places have to do with the articulation of power and hierarchy. More "modest" and local places are miniaturized iterations of the monumental forms or articulate the same structural principles, usually dominated by figures of the center: "The alignment of a place is defined by an alignment of a centre in relation to something external—that is, outside the boundary commanded by the centre. The purpose of alignment is to put the centre in the most direct possible contact—in sightlike contact—with the external thing—a star, a mountain, another center. Through this contact a right relation is established between the centre and the world at large."[32]

"Periphery" also appears in the analysis, with a refinement on the conception by Castelnuovo and Ginzburg: Summers defines it as a zone of extension beyond the boundaries or *limina* enclosing a center and associates with the "cultural other." As a liminal zone it may give rise to an anxiety, "that our own second nature not only is not given nature, but is in fact merely possible and cultural. If that is so, then the peripheral undermines the felt absoluteness of both centres and boundaries."[33] More suggestively, and in ways that further complicate the earlier analysis, the development of cities "outgrows" the oppositionality of center/periphery: "urban culture, always under the pressure of trade, is made up of people shaped by many centres. Even if cities are governed by a single authority to which all submit, urban spaces tend to be polycentric, in effect mixtures of places."[34]

Summers concedes that his analysis principally concerns the "originary centers" of premodernity (he seeks a level of global and transhistorical applicability that can include everything from Navajo hogans to "sedimented" urban centers like Rome or Jerusalem). "Mixed places" seem to be characteristic of modernity—yet, as with Casey, so for Summers it is not clear on which side of modernity the urban spaces of Renaissance Italy might fall. By the mid-1400s Naples, as we have seen, might seem to fulfill the condition of a "mixed place." The geographic question is here closely linked to a more vexatious one that has long haunted the periodization of the Renaissance: whether the Renaissance is in

some intrinsic (as distinct from perspectival) sense "modern," "early modern," or "nonmodern." From the perspective of Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, the modernity of canonical works of the High Renaissance lies in their "placelessness," their transcending of functional setting and context through print culture and canon formation.[35] As the Renaissance is repeatedly recast—from Jacob Burckhardt to Roberto Longhi to Hans Belting and to Nagel and Wood—as the beginnings of European modernity, its complex nonmodernity fades from view. That nonmodernity is what others describe in spatial terms as "the periphery": aspects of Renaissance artistic culture that challenge neo-Vasarian master narratives and have considerable resonance for twenty-first-century reassessments of hybridity and the transcultural.

Thus far, I have been arguing that the characteristic locations of Renaissance Italy, both urban and otherwise, fulfill the conditions of "mixed places" far more than they do those of geographic entities defined by centers or boundaries. Models of "mixed place" in recent geographic thought can help us to think about the nature of place in Renaissance Italy—place not as organic and bounded but as "an ever-shifting constellation of trajectories." Thus the geographer Doreen Massey has proposed, in her critique of "introverted" and "reactionary" notions of place, that we conceive of "place as meeting place rather than as always already coherent, as open rather than bounded, as an ongoing production rather than pre-given."[36] Places acquire identity not through organic, autochthonous traditions and internalized history but through their construction as a locus in much larger and far-reaching chains of social relations. "If one moves in from the satellite towards the globe, holding all these networks of social relations and movements and communications in one's head, then each 'place' can be seen as a particular, unique, point of their intersection. It is, indeed, a *meeting* place." Places can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations, experiences, and understandings, some of which "may be reconstructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent. And this in turn allows a sense of place which is extroverted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local."[37]

Perhaps this horizontal, extensive, and networked conception of place—which resembles the mixed spaces of modernity in Summers's account—risks making the Renaissance seem anachronistically contemporary. Yet Massey's "meeting place" could help to dislodge a prevailing narrative that constructs the Renaissance in terms of an ideological history of modernization, which in the case of Italy rationalizes a process of cultural and political "centering." We have seen that this was a process of unequal development, widening the perceived differences between the North and the South, and reinforcing the peripheralization of the rich cultural networks of the peninsula in relation to a small number of northern regional capitals. Art, along with regional literatures, would indeed serve in the production of "indigenous" cultural identities: Tuscan *disegno*, Venetian *colore*, Lombard *imitatione del naturale*. Heterogeneity was stigmatized by its identification with the South, the zone of cul-

tural contamination by Spain and the cultures of the Mediterranean. As Luigi Lanzi wrote in his pioneering *Storia pittorica* (1792–96),

> after the beginning of the sixteenth century, in every region, art reached its maturity, and in every place began to assume a character that distinguishes one school from another. Naples did not however give rise to an original school, as elsewhere in Italy, but conceded a place to every good style, whether young artists who had left their *patria* brought the style of this or that master, or whether the sovereigns and grandees of the kingdom invited or at least employed the better foreigners.[38]

Lanzi may well have been describing not just Naples but most of Italy in the early decades of the 1500s, when artists were not beholden to later characterizations of regional style, and such a mapping of *stylistic* features like color, design, and naturalism onto geopolitical areas would have been meaningless to them. At the same time these artists were highly conscious of art's capacity to characterize place, to define a location in terms of its relation to other locations.

Models of place developed in relational geography will sustain an analysis of the sometimes complex semiotics of location in their works.[39] Rather than marking a location as a peripheral reproduction or extension of a center, which still governs in an arborescent formation, such works construct a place-character through multiple vectors of connection (stylistic, typological, iconographic) to other places. On occasion, notions of the center, or the relative authority of other centers, might be actively renegotiated or contested. The question, then, is how to characterize the local in terms of *relations* within an overall field of artistic production that, in the sixteenth century, is increasingly marked by *centralization*. (In this regard, it is telling that recent affirmations of center-periphery as a geographical principle of explanation in the history of art have come from writers on modernism and the global history of art.)[40]

Place as Event and Performance in an Altarpiece by Lorenzo Lotto

Lorenzo Lotto's Colleoni Martinengo altarpiece (fig. 2.3), now in San Bartolomeo in Bergamo but originally commissioned in 1513 as the high altar for the church of Santi Domenico e Stefano, can be taken as an instance of how a relational approach to place allows us to address some of the most distinctive features of a work. The prestige of the commission from the noble condottiere Alessandro Martinengo Colleoni had drawn Lotto away from a productive sojourn in the Marches to compete for the project against several other painters (whose names were not recorded). The altarpiece, originally some 8 meters tall, was one of the largest yet made in Italy, befitting a significance that was public and politically charged. The city of Bergamo had been a possession of Venice since 1428; the rulers of Milan, only 48 kilometers away, had long sought political influence there. During the wars of the League of Cambrai (1509–16), French and imperial forces struggled for possession of Milan and the Lombard cities. Bergamo was lost and recaptured by Venice several times, with considerable destruction of property and loss of

2.3 Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin and Child with Saints*, Colleoni Martinengo altarpiece. 1513–16. On panel, 520 × 250 cm. Bergamo, S. Bartolomeo e Stefano. Credit: The Yorck Project, Wikimedia Commons.

life; many of the old noble families had ties to Milan and opposed Venice. Lotto's patron, Martinengo Colleoni, however, identified with the Venetian cause and commanded soldiers on behalf of the republic.[41] Bergamo returned to permanent Venetian rule in 1516, by which time the altarpiece had been completed.

Most accounts of the altarpiece emphasize its Venetian character, as if the patron wanted to signal the grateful capitulation of the *bergamasco* elite to the rule of the republic by evoking Venetian artistic norms.[42] To be sure, Venetian overlordship is acknowledged in the appearance of St. Mark, both among the saints surrounding the Virgin's throne and in the medallion portrait in the vault, which is decorated in mosaic like the great patriarchal basilica of Venice. Yet beyond political iconography, it has been noted that the work cannot be seen as typologically or stylistically Venetian in any straightforward sense: the very elements that symbolize "Venice" estrange it even further from contemporary Venetian altarpiece design.[43]

Most significantly, Lotto did not follow the convention of depicting a static, contemplative group of saints around the Virgin's throne, as they appeared in recent Venetian *sacre conversazioni* by Cima da Conegliano or Vittore Carpaccio. Instead, he staged an event—not just a theological one, where the Virgin and Child raise their hands in blessing over the titular saints Dominic and Stephen, but a situational or "ceremonial" one: the altarpiece is also about the moment of the beholder's arrival at the threshold of the pictorial world it presents.[44] One saint, Sebastian, has turned his attention from the enthroned Virgin to calmly regard the spectator. His upper body is partly veiled in shadow; on the ground before him, the shadow of a human figure appears—perhaps another beholder in our space approaching from our right. This sense of an

approach from the right may relate to original conditions of the destroyed church, which cannot now be reconstructed. At any rate, that figure—who appears to wear tall headgear and to carry a staff—is not us, nor is he the object of Sebastian's attention. In addition, the angels in the altarpiece convey the sense of intensive preparations for an occasion. Two *spiritelli* have not quite managed to place the cloth of honor properly before the throne in time for the visitor's arrival; aloft in the open tribune two more angels drape banners and trophy-like garlanded *imprese*. The throne itself seems capable of animation: it rests on a series of lion's paws, uncannily juxtaposed with a live lion (the attribute of St. Mark) in the shadows beside the kneeling St. Dominic. A particular, festive, preceremonial moment has been frozen in time. Perhaps we are witnessing the consecration of an altar (the shadow-casting figure may have the miter and crozier of a bishop) or else a moment of collective or individual supplication to the Virgin or to St. Sebastian (a highly popular votive saint invoked during the constant epidemics that followed periods of warfare). The extraordinary conceit is that this is a votive altarpiece, comparable in its architectural splendor and the gesture of the Virgin and Child to earlier *Lombard* examples by Bergognone (fig. 2.4) and Vincenzo Foppa, but that instead of incorporating portraits of individual donors who receive the graces of the Virgin, it interpellates all future beholders of the altarpiece to assume this role.

A phenomenon that will be seen repeatedly in the chapters that follow is the tendency to associate the body of the Virgin Mary with the particularity of sacred sites, increasingly prevalent following the rise of the shrine at Loreto in the late 1400s (see chapter 4). More churches are dedicated to Mary than to any other saint or mystery in premodern Europe, but some sanctuaries developed an exclusivity in their forms of Marian devotion—especially through cult images and objects.[45] It is as if the Virgin—the central figure of pre-Reformation cult, whose role as the recourse of Christians is universal—was believed to bestow grace selectively, through apparitions and miraculous icons, at some places but not at others, and with even more specificity than a local patron

2.4 Ambrogio Bergognone, *Virgin and Child with Saints and Gerolamo Calagrani*. After 1484. On panel, 182 × 242 cm. Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

saint. In the late 1300s Francesco Sacchetti sneered at the fickle devout who ran from one Tuscan cult image to another, from Santa Maria de Cingoli, to Santa Maria della Selva, to Impruneta, to Fiesole, and to Or San Michele; Alberti and Leonardo both remarked on the place-specificity of miracle images in the minds of a devout populace with which they did not identify.[46] The Eucharist, by contrast, was ubiquitous, mobile, and lacking in particularity. One church's Eucharist was (mostly) not better than another's.[47]

Although not regarded as a miracle image, Lotto's depiction of the Virgin in a monumental temple is concerned with the nature of sacred places, places not just sacralized by divine presence but *activated* by supplication, conceived as a spatial performance by beholders arriving on the scene, with all beholders interpellated as supplicants. Yet the virtual place staged here by Lotto is also the meeting point of trajectories, of links with multiple elsewheres effected through the language of art. The notarial record of the commission states that Martinengo Colleoni "towards the end of realizing the work sought out famous painters from all parts" (Et ad opus hujusmodi exequendum undeqe complures egregii pictores).[48] The key term here is *undeqe* (properly, *undique*, "all places"). Martinengo Colleoni did not simply resort to Milan, as he would do shortly afterward for the decoration of the chapel, or to Venice; he recruited a painter working in the Marches who had also worked in Rome. If anything, the altarpiece is directing its viewers to think of *undique*. It does this not through stylistic eclecticism but by alluding to architectural and pictorial typologies with strong connotations of place. Thus, the Byzantinizing architecture of Lotto's earlier works has been replaced with a monumental structure reminiscent of Raphael's *School of Athens*, with a comparable flood of light from the open dome above. *Romanitas* is manifest also with the hieroglyphic emblem of Pope Leo X, the yoke of submission with the legend "divina suave."[49] A distant political authority is evoked, yet one that, by comparison with the more proximate yoke of Venice, is relatively ineffective. As a work that can be seen to represent Bergamo, the Martinengo Colleoni altarpiece addressed a divided polity: the church of Santi Domenico e Stefano was also under the patronage of families such as the Suardi, who were staunchly anti-Venetian and who would also become patrons of Lotto.

Lotto is here performing in accordance with the expectations of his clients: he was an artist from Rome who had worked alongside Raphael. While this might look like an instance of provincial patrons gravitating to the authority of stylistic exemplars in the center, the very singular evocation of Rome in the altarpiece points us to a different assessment: for all its Romanizing resonances, the painting will not be defined in terms of contemporary Roman practice. It evokes a characteristically local idea of Rome, one that responds to the "Romanizing" practice of several artists in northern Italy. The closest analogue for the Roman-looking architecture can be found in the Milanese works of Bramante designed before he concluded his career in Rome—the crossing of Santa Maria delle Grazie and, more strikingly, the illusionistic choir of Santa Maria presso San Satiro (fig. 2.5), where (and this is significant, too) the faux barrel vault constitutes a monumental frame for a miraculous

image of the Virgin and Child.[50] The Virgin with her distinctive gesture is a calculated answer to a type of Marian altarpiece that had emerged in the late 1400s among the most famous artists of Lombardy and the Po Valley: Bergognone's Calagrani altarpiece from 1484 (fig. 2.4), the great Mantuan altarpiece from the 1490s by Mantegna known as the *Virgin of the Victories* (fig. 2.6); Leonardo da Vinci's *Virgin of the Rocks* (fig. 2.7), only recently installed at San Francesco Grande in Milan after a long and tortuous production; and Correggio's *Virgin of St. Francis* (fig. 2.8) at Parma, completed in 1514.[51] The patron's recorded demand that Lotto produce a work that was "magnificam, et singularem . . . omni arte ingenioque humano possibili faciendam" resulted in a work of transregional ambitions.[52] Its effect is to connect Bergamo to Rome, Milan, and the Po Valley at least as much as to Venice, and

2.5 Donato Bramante, Illusionistic choir of S. Maria presso S. Satiro, Milan. 1476–82. Credit: © DeA Picture Library / Art Resource, NY.

2.6 Andrea Mantegna, *Virgin of the Victories*. 1496. Oil on canvas, 285 × 168 cm. Paris, Louvre. Credit: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

2.7 Leonardo da Vinci, *Virgin of the Rocks*. 1483–86. On panel, 199 × 122 cm. Paris, Louvre. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

2.8 Correggio, *Madonna of St. Francis*. 1514. On panel, 299 × 245 cm. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister / Elke Estel / Hans-Peter Klut / Art Resource, NY.

arguably more so. And the "Rome" on display here is a very particular production of Rome, one that has a *local* resonance through Leonardo and Bramante.

A city that evokes Rome in this way is symbolically reconstituting itself as unique and distinct, as anything but peripheral. "Rome" here is a kind of supraregional code for the nondependent, autonomous polity, one that might enable the Bergamaschi to keep overbearing cultural and political influences—especially Venetian ones—at a distance. The invocation of Rome in Bergamo proclaims not cultural dependency or the sometimes reactive regionalism that would crystallize around dialect literatures, but a kind of convergence in a circuit of leading ideas. The members of the same elite that commissioned paintings from Lotto over the next decade were also literate, conversant with religious and humanistic writing from the presses of Venice, readers of Erasmus or even more controversial authors. Ber-

gamasco merchants formed a pan-peninsular network through small communities in Ancona, Naples, and elsewhere (Polidoro da Caravaggio, to be considered in chapter 3, profited from opportunities provided by a circle of Bergamaschi expatriates in southern Italy). Lotto shared these qualities, dispatching his works through a pan-peninsular network even to places he did not travel to in person—entries in his account book for 1544–45 record the shipping of paintings from Venice to Sicily and to Giovinazzo in Puglia.[53]

Such large-scale and place-defining works of art will be conceived as part of a domain of inquiry termed *spatial* practice, following Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre in their accounts of sites of power and their contestation.[54] Tim Cresswell writes: "Thinking of place as performed and practiced can help us think of place in radically open and nonessentialized ways where place is constantly struggled over and reimagined in practical ways. Place is the raw material for the creative production of identity rather than an *a priori* label of identity. . . . Place in this sense becomes an event rather than a secure ontological thing rooted in notions of the authentic. Place as an event is marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence."[55]

Regionalism and Its Discontents

> Savoldo, on the banks of the lagoon, by now had come to know and had eagerly absorbed—but without becoming enslaved by—the valuable lessons of the insurmountable Giovanni Bellini, through the no longer physical but spiritual presence of Giorgione, with the poetic charge of his supreme art based on color and tone, from the overwhelmingly dominant force of the young Titian, not to mention contact with Campagnola, the disseminator of the poetics of Giorgione and Titian, from the solemnity of Sebastiano del Piombo, from the restlessness and originality of Lorenzo Lotto, the broad forms of Palma.[56]

The reliance on the principle of "influence" in art history can have results bordering on the grotesque. Before our eyes, the work of art fragments into a Frankenstein monster forced to restore its body parts to their original owners. Here, the Brescian Girolamo Savoldo is dissolved into his formative Venetian influences, including Titian and Lotto; studies of Lotto in turn trace Lotto's borrowings from Savoldo.[57] Of course, the observations of such connections are not necessarily incorrect—Savoldo was clearly aware of Titian and other artists, in Venice and elsewhere. But how to characterize that awareness? "Influence" suggests the passive and perhaps unconscious absorption of a powerful forebear—Titian, in the quotation above, appears as an "overwhelmingly dominant force"—rather than a more deliberated strategy, whereby an artist situates his work in relation to others, even pursuing a critical distance.

It is understandable that "influence" has served as a means of geographic classification, and that art history can sometimes do little better than to categorize an unknown work of art according to its derivative relation to a leading artist or workshop; the culture of workshops often sustained continuities of local practice over time. The problem arises when styles are regarded as operating according to

their own internal principles, as organically or monadically intact, like Darwinian life-forms, with "strong" styles exercising their force over "weak" ones, and so on. For Roberto Longhi, Piero della Francesca brought about the descent of European art from an Italian origin through a principle very similar to natural selection.[58]

One objective in what follows is to reconsider the geohistorical significance of style without recourse to *a priori* and largely unhistorical constructs like "Florentine," "Venetian," "Gothic," "mannerist," and so forth, and to think of styles less as mechanical and impermeable than as reactive and volatile, as media of integration. Artists, and not places, possess style; styles are identified and *used* by artists, as one of many visual codes through which they produce group identities (of a community of artists, or of patrons; of a religious order, or of a neighborhood or municipality). Artists may serve the production of identity, moreover, not just through a uniformity of practice within places but through the incorporation, by means of citation or imitation, of art in multiple locations. What would the fate of place be in such an account, where styles are seen as mobile and distributed, as citational and dialogic, and even as geographically discontinuous—"multiple intersecting and overlapping (but not necessarily homogeneous or monolithic) networks of skilled artistic practices"?[59] If styles, that is, are "indigenous" to places only in that both might be seen to be marked "by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence."[60]

Vasari, who was not in any consistent way a geographic or environmental determinist, did not provide anything approaching a theory of indigenous style, whether it proceeded from "natural" or from "cultural" roots. Despite his occasional and highly inconsistent recourse to climate or celestial influence, it is apparent that for him affiliation with artistic communities practicing the "good modern manner" is volitional, and artists not born in Florence or Rome can overcome the limitations of their origin by going to either of those places.[61] Similarly, Vasari's contemporary Benvenuto Cellini refers in his *Autobiography* to the "noble" and "magnificent" Florentine *scuola*, but there is no sense (as is also the case with Summonte's use of the word) that he thought of this primarily as a stylistic classification: a *scuola* was a community of peers that fostered a critical standard of quality and maintained excellence through competition; one could join it or leave it.[62]

By the 1600s, however, when artists like Domenichino and writers on art like Giulio Mancini, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, and Giovanni Battista Passeri referred to the various "schools" of Italian painting, these are clearly understood to have stable characteristics that could be compared. The theorist Giovanni Battista Agucchi referred to a Scuola Romana, a Scuola Veneziana, a Scuola Lombarda, and a Scuola Toscana, and Mancini advised collectors to organize their picture galleries in thematic groupings (landscapes, portraits, and so on) so that differences between traditions would be more recognizable. This geographic taxonomy reaches its apogee in the *Storia pittorica* of Lanzi—who recognized distinct regional *scuole* centered on Florence, Siena, Rome, Naples (with qualifications, as we have seen), Venice, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Cremona, Milan, and Bologna—followed by the

grand surveys of Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle and Raymond van Marle, and visible in the organization of the major Italian museums like the Uffizi and the Brera.[63]

Even with the emergence of the idea of local schools, some usages of the term *scuola* seem to rely more on artistic biography than on stylistic consistency—the "Roman School" meant no more than "the artists (whether from Naples or Bologna or Florence) who happened to have worked in Rome for a substantial part of their careers." Agucchi seems to have considered that "Roman School" meant conformity with the manner of Raphael, just as being of the "Emilian School" meant following Correggio, and being of the "Venetian School" meant following Titian. The instability in the concept of "school" when it is used in a stylistically prescriptive sense is fully evident in Lanzi, for whom the Milanese Caravaggio, the dissident in the face of the classical tradition, was pronounced to be "in" but not "of" the Roman School; the geographic and the stylistic senses of the term *scuola* here have become divided and irreconcilable.[64]

By the time Crowe and Cavalcaselle published their multivolume *New History of Painting in Italy* in 1864, geography had become the dominant principle of organizing the art of the Italian past in the great survey museums.[65] The mapping of styles onto regions intensified with Raimond van Marle's *Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (1923–38).[66] Not all accounts of Renaissance art were equally deterministic in their conception of style as shaped by environmental factors, but Henry Layard's 1902 summary of the "scientific connoisseurship" of Giovanni Morelli can be said to represent a mainstream view:

> [Morelli] has shown that . . . each true school of painting in Italy, like the various dialects of the Italian language, was the spontaneous manifestation—the product, as it were—of the thoughts, feelings, traditions, and manners of the population of that part of the Peninsula in which it rose, and that it retained until it became extinct its general characteristics and types, which are to be traced in the works of all those who belonged to it, however much they may have been affected by influences from without.[67]

We have already encountered Federico Zeri, who in 1976 wrote a book on the relations between Italian art and the "Italian character," in which the portraiture of Antonello da Messina—one of the most cosmopolitan of all Italian artists—is described as "intimately Sicilian," condensing "the ambiguous essence of the island, fascinating and terrible."[68] The style of the Friulian Pordenone, Titian's most formidable rival, has been characterized as the outcome of "memories of the rugged mountain dwellers and the vivid and visionary fantasies of a provincial world," and even more recently the Bergamasco Giovanni Cariani has been described as having a "valley-dwelling soul" that allowed the painter "to transfuse his blood and soil pigments into a new spatial dimension akin to the free verse of sixteenth-century song."[69]

The great Italian scholar Roberto Longhi was aware of the problems of geographic essentialism, yet his own paradoxical stance persists in the scholarship still written under his aegis. From his early writings Longhi upheld

Lombard art as embodying a spiritual worldview that persisted from Lotto to Caravaggio and beyond. "Lombardy" for Longhi and his follower Francesco Arcangeli designated more than a historical style at a particular moment; it was "an enduring mode of vision and imagination, one that flew in the face of the entire Renaissance: as much opposed to the rhythmic formal classicism of Rome and Florence as to the chromatic formalism of Venice."[70] Thus, for Longhi in 1917, the painting of the Brescian artist Moretto anticipated the naturalism of the great nineteenth-century Milanese novelist Alessandro Manzoni.[71] Departing from an art historiography of "schools," Longhi asserted that this Lombard quality refused geographic containment: in an essay on the forerunners of Caravaggio (including Lotto and Moretto), he stated that he was seeking "the definition of just one abiding tendency in Lombardy, tracing its irregular course from the hinterlands of the Veneto to Brescia, Cremona, and Milan. The point has never been to describe the history of a region."[72] And one can see signs in his writings on Piero della Francesca throughout his career (1914–63) that Longhi sought to resist regionalist essentialism and to recognize disconnections of style and region that troubled the vision of artistic geography by Layard, set forth above. Thus, Piero appears as an instance of "mysteries manifest in a vast area taking in Lombardy and Piedmont, Liguria and Provence, and even reaching as far as Tours and Moulins."[73]

The problem for Longhi is that these widely dispersed affinities between painters working across the Mediterranean and Continental Europe threatened with chaos the orderly foundations of a scientific history of art. The solution was to turn this forest of promiscuous and insufficiently speciated mutations into branches of a single tree. Piero is then no longer a symptom but the mighty trunk of a single arborescent formation. It is Piero who links Masaccio to Bellini, Antoniazzo Romano to Jehan Fouquet. The glimmer of resemblance between these painters is ultimately explained by the direct or ramified influence of the wandering artist, a kind of archetype or personification of progressive modern painting defined by the optics of color and light. Ultimately the affinities are less threatening because they can be recodified as tracings of hidden networks restored to visibility by the connoisseur's optical archive. Longhi's view thus becomes more powerful and encompassing, rolling space into time. The strange ubiquity of the "Piero" effect, the "mysterious compendium," becomes a kind of historical necessity.[74] Inexplicable stylistic affinities across space are also manifest anachronistically across time, linking Piero to archaic Greece and Egypt as well as to Vermeer and Cézanne.

While many of Longhi's positions continue to have force in Italian scholarship (sixteenth-century Lombard artists are still scrutinized for their anticipation of Caravaggio; Bellini is still ranked as historically more consequential than his brother-in-law Mantegna), the problems of the relation of style and place that his work raised were generally not taken up in twentieth-century Anglo-American or German art histories, with their increasingly antiformalist and positivist orientation in the postwar era. Geographic approaches were even seen as tainted by ultranationalist "blood and soil" ideologies.[75] The concept of "schools" was retained, albeit in a more anodyne (we might

say bloodless) form; so, too, was the idea—not unique to Longhi—of a normative "classical style," opposed by "anticlassical" dissidents or "eccentrici."[76] The "anticlassical" and the "eccentric," however, terms that evoke but displace the question of geography, have become almost synonymous with "periphery."[77]

Sydney Freedberg's *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600* perhaps most fully exemplifies the crisis in the organization of Italian history according to regional schools, even while admitting that the school affiliation of some key sixteenth-century artists was highly ambiguous. Correggio, Pordenone, Lotto, and Dosso, he wrote, "cannot be gathered easily under the rubric of a geographically determined school," although he repeatedly reproves them for provincialism and nonconformity to the "leading" schools of Florence and Venice.[78]

The case of Federico Barocci, mainly active in his native Urbino even while his works were sought out by patrons in Rome, Perugia, Arezzo, Milan, Genoa, Ravenna, Spain, and the imperial court, puts even more pressure on geographically distinguishable schools. Barocci had already been subjected to two entirely different localizing accounts, one linking him to Tuscany and Andrea del Sarto, the other to "Lombardy" and to Correggio.[79] Freedberg saw him in yet more complicated terms:

> Before the Carracci, and long before the Florentines, Barocci incorporated Venetian idiom and principle into an education that had begun in the Maniera, exploiting the equivocal geographical and cultural situation of his native place. More decisive and much more important, he chose, without any measurable cause we can attach to training or environment—again, well before the Carracci—to look back across an intervening generation to Correggio, and, refounding Correggio's style in his own, to extend it farther still towards what we recognize as a baroque, forging another link between Correggio and the seventeenth century.[80]

Barocci, working in an "equivocal" location, reviving Correggio while already a step ahead of the proto-baroque Carracci, appears as an anomaly in the chronological as well as geographic organization of Italian art.

The sixteenth century had no such difficulty with Barocci, however. He was recognized as the most significant artist from Urbino since Raphael, and it mattered little that his works did not resemble Raphael's. Barocci's success can be measured by his production of paintings for sites throughout Italy and beyond, yet his style, however much valued for the signature virtuosity of the painter, was not seen in regional terms as being "Urbinate." Barocci was a cultural asset of the della Rovere dukes of Urbino, but that did not commit him to any principle of stylistic conformity or typicality with a regional practice (or to predecessors like Raphael or the Zuccari, whose most significant work was made for locations outside Urbino). Instead, his connection to Urbino and its rulers was signaled through the occasional inclusion of Urbino's landmark ducal palace in the backgrounds of several of his works from the 1580s onward, including the *Annunciation* for the chapel of the dukes of Urbino at the basilica of Loreto (fig. 2.9), the *Visitation* for the Chiesa Nuova in Rome, the *Entombment* for Senigallia, the *Crucifixion* for Genoa Cathedral, and the *Noli Me Tangere* of 1590 (now in

2.9 Federico Barocci, *Loreto Annunciation*. 1582–84. Oil on canvas, 248 × 170 cm. Vatican, Pinacoteca. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek; probably a della Rovere commission for Pesaro). Barocci's art was not, however, "placeless." As we can tell from correspondence with his clients, Barocci was meticulously attentive to how his paintings related to the locations they were destined for; in several cases the paintings were explicitly designed to draw the beholder to a contemplative mindfulness of the site in which the work was encountered.[81]

Just when the rise of art historiography was beginning to map styles onto regions, insisting on the "Venetian-ness" of color and facture and the "Tuscan-ness" of line and idealized form, Barocci seems engaged in an emphatically transregional (perhaps even antiregionalist) practice, based on an awareness of artistic practices in Lombardy, Tuscany, Rome, and Venice (yet much more than an eclectic gathering of "influences"). His style was taken up by followers in Rome, the Veneto, and in southern Tuscany, as well as in the Marches, its transregional character working in tandem with Barocci's scrupulous attention to the sites for his works. Intensive customization with regard to location goes with a desire to make works that are far from—indeed, the opposite of—being provincial or peripheral in relation to a major center. Barocci's cosmopolitan style thus contrasts markedly with that of his contemporary and fellow *marchigiano* Simone de' Magistris (fig. 2.10), who served a distinguished but more local clientele from his home in Caldarola, and whose work, unlike Barocci's, is self-consciously regional, modeled on a local canon ranging from Lotto to Pellegrino Tibaldi, and even looking back at Crivelli (see fig. 1.3).

Barocci's ecumenical approach is therefore the opposite of the one-size-fits-all mentality of Giorgio Vasari and the Florentine academy, which propagated a self-consciously Florentine *maniera* in numerous commissions for central Italian locations. Well before he became the chief manager of Medici artistic and architectural projects, Vasari drew on the network provided by religious orders and

other elite contacts to export his version of the Florentine modern manner to sites as far afield as Venice, Bologna, Rimini, Ravenna, and Naples, in addition to places in Tuscany. In the decade that saw the establishment of the state-sponsored Accademia del Disegno (1562), Vasari and his shop sent works to Rome, Perugia, Bosco Marengo in Piemonte, Città di Castello, Livorno, Arezzo, Pisa, Pistoia, and Prato. Barocci's exporting of altarpieces certainly parallels that of Vasari (his 1579 *Madonna del popolo* for Arezzo fulfilled a commission unfulfilled by Vasari at his death), yet while it sometimes served the diplomacy of the della Rovere rulers of Urbino, Barocci's art is in no obvious sense comparable to Vasari's promotion of Tuscan cultural hegemony. Rather, Barocci's transregional idiom and his careful attention to the impact of his works in situ reinforced the specificity of several places of cult in central and northern Italy, their singularity as destinations. In this sense we will see that Barocci can be aligned with some artists of the preceding generation considered in the following chapters—Lorenzo Lotto, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Cesare da Sesto, Romanino, Moretto. For younger artists, like his fellow *marchigiano* Federico Zuccari—who worked in Rome, Venice, Florence, and Turin, as well as numerous other locations in Italy and in the Netherlands, England, and Spain—Barocci provided a powerful model of a style that was nonregional because it was pointedly assimilationist and pan-Italian in orientation.

In resisting the habits of regional taxonomy, we can turn to aspects of painterly technique used independently by artists in different locations in the early 1500s, which in the post-Vasarian historiography is ideologically "regionalized," becoming the defining property of artists in one dominant center alone. Take the brushstroke, for instance—the loose, gestural mode of handling that became increasingly available to artists with the dissemination of oil painting on canvas. Many artists

2.10 Simone de'Magistris, *Madonna of the Rosary*. 1575. On canvas, 290 × 260 cm. San Ginesio, Collegiata. By courtesy of Municipality of San Ginesio.

throughout Italy used a free, brushy application of paint, such as Giorgione in Venice and Romanino in Brescia in the 1500s; Dosso Dossi and Garofalo in the Costabili altarpiece for Ferrara in 1512; Rosso Fiorentino in Florence before 1520; Altobello Melone and Gian Francesco Bembo in Cremona by 1515; and Polidoro da Caravaggio, both early in his career in Santa Maria Teutonico in the Vatican about 1520 and in a series of late works for Messina in the 1530s. From Vasari's point of view, however, the mode of painting he called "pittura di macchia" was always singularly Venetian and the signature of Titian in particular. Reinforced by partisan Venetian writers like Marco Boschini in the 1630s, the painterly brushstroke was given a genealogy in the painting of Giorgione around 1500 and became the distinctive property of the "Venetian School." Accordingly, artists like Romanino, Melone, and Dosso are forced into this same genealogy, regardless of the fact that their own quite different modes of painterly handling are likely to have been at least contemporaneous with and independent from Giorgione's. It has become one of the orthodoxies of art history, however, that these techniques all originate singly in the "revolutionary" practice of Giorgione around 1500, with Titian as its "fullest realization."[82] While it is sometimes conceded that Romanino's early *Virgin and Child* in the Louvre (1507?) and his *Narcissus* in Frankfurt are precocious responses to the manner of Giorgione, one might ask why Giorgione is needed at all to explain their appearance, if not merely to sustain an established art historical narrative of large artistic revolutions wrought by individuals.[83]

All of which is to say that modern taxonomies of "style" according to region bear little relation to the experience of Italian artists and patrons before the later sixteenth century. Style was as yet an individual property, but even while it could be borrowed or appropriated, it was not an indigenous quality analogous to dialect. No substantial evidence exists to show that contemporary viewers and commentators considered the difference *between* the artistic practices of different regions as being more significant than the differences *within* local practices.

3 *The View from Messina*

Lombards, Sicilians, and the Modern Manner

Messina in Sicily is less than 4 kilometers from the southern tip of the Italian peninsula, yet travelers from the North could find getting there to be unexpectedly difficult. Heading for Messina in 1492, the young Pietro Bembo found himself constrained to embark by sea from Naples, since there was no reliable overland route via Calabria: he finally reached his destination after ten days of seasick misery.[1] That physical disjunction from the mainland magnified a psychological distance that did not exist in Dante's time. Dante reminded his readers in *De vulgari eloquentia* that "Sicilian" had once been synonymous with all that was excellent in *Italian* courtly culture. His Byzantine Greek contemporaries often used the term "Italy" to refer only to the unified kingdoms of the South—the so-called Two Sicilies—treating "Lombardy," Genoa, and the central Italian states as entirely separate entities.[2] Yet in the mid-1400s Flavio Biondo omitted Sicily from his *Italia illustrata*, despite its inclusion in his most authoritative ancient model, Strabo's *Geography*, and notwithstanding his dedication of the book to King Alfonso of Aragon, ruler from 1442 of the dual kingdoms. In many ways Sicily represented the persistence of a political and economic status quo that had held for

several centuries, where the urban vitality of Italy was in its maritime city-states: Pisa, Venice, and Genoa. With the emergence of large territorial states on the mainland during the fifteenth century, that was no longer the case. The island's trading cities remained more integrated than their peninsular counterparts, with an extended Mediterranean circuit that included Provence, Sardinia, Greece, Africa, and the Spanish kingdoms. In this chapter, we will see how such circumstances led to the emergence, in the 1500s, of a manifold Messinese cultural identity that both mirrored that of Rome and—as the papal capital increasingly asserted its political centrality through artistic norms—also styled itself in terms of assertive differences from Rome.

Bembo was aware of Messina's cosmopolitan urban life, but that was not what he was looking for in 1492. For Italians like Bembo immersed in classical culture, for whom claims to a collective Italian memory and identity were grounded in the idea of a shared ancient past, Sicily was a locus of desire, because it was evoked and described throughout classical literature, from the poets Pindar, Theocritus, Ovid, and Virgil to the geographers and encyclopedists Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny the Elder. Bembo was lured to Sicily by very tangible links with the classical past. Like a latter-day Cicero, what he sought was Greece itself or, rather, Greece in Italy.

Messina, with a population about one-third that of Venice—about thirty thousand—was home to several expatriate and immigrant communities; its substantial Greek contingent had fostered a reputation in the study of classical Greek. Bembo and his friend Angelo Gabrieli went to study with the Byzantine humanist Constantine Lascaris, who, with the backing of Cardinal Bessarion, had obtained a chair in Greek at the Orthodox monastery of San Salvatore al Faro. Lascaris was the author of the first text to be printed entirely in Greek—the *Grammatica*, published in Milan in 1476, as well as of a *Vitae illustrium philosophorum Siculorum et Calabrorum*, which appeared in Messina in 1499. It was largely on the strength of Lascaris's teaching and scholarship that Aldus Manutius praised Messina as a "new Athens." (Lascaris, well traveled in Italy, was less enthusiastic about his adopted homeland and appears to have taken up his appointment only after being disappointed of a position in Rome.) The city had gone to some lengths to promote itself as a center of learning. In 1459 it petitioned King John I of Aragon for a charter to set up a *studium*, which would have rivaled the established Siculorum Gymnasium at Catania.[3] Also of Greek extraction and a pupil of Lascaris, the polymath Francesco Maurolico would pursue Hellenic studies (poetry and rhetoric, in addition to history, geography, mathematics, fortification, optics, and economics), identifying the physical remains of Greek civilization in the vicinity of Messina and maintaining contact with leading intellectuals in the cities of the peninsula, including Bembo.[4]

Thus, humanism's historical memory and the idea of a Republic of Letters connected Sicily with the centers of the mainland. Bembo's *De Aetna*, published by the Aldine Press in 1496 following his return from Sicily, is a distinctive instance of the role played by landscape and geographic thinking in a critical reconception of the relation between the classical past and the Italian present. The core of

the dialogue, which takes place near Padua between Pietro and his father, Bernardo, is a vivid description of the celebrated natural marvel of Mount Etna and the surrounding landscape, as visited by the younger Bembo on a day trip from Messina. While Pietro is more impressed by the ruined Greek theater at Taormina and its physical setting than by the modern life of the island, such as the new town of Randazzo, his account is no mere escape into a timeless past, a Petrarchan construction of cultural memory from landscapes seen through the lens of the classical authors. *De Aetna* assumes an oppositional stance toward the written authority of Strabo and other ancient sources, whose inaccurate reports the young Bembo corrects. The volcano, as landscape in its most volatile form, finally becomes the figure for the massive and irreversible transformations that stand between the world of the ancients and the present, thereby vindicating the authority of personal experience, of "going there."[5] "They have repeatedly said that the top of the mountain is partly covered in ashes, but there is no trace of this now—there are no ashes to be seen anywhere on the mountain."[6]

Place thus valorizes the experiential over textual authority. Italy itself, by the 1490s, was found to contain "new worlds" requiring entirely new chorographic descriptions. Yet it is significant that the dialogue concludes with skeptical and disparaging remarks on present-day Sicilians, concerning both their language and some of the more extravagant forms of their "local knowledge." For instance, the Sicilians claim that the ancient gods still inhabit the landscape: "Shepherds say they have seen the god [Faunus] himself moving about through the woods and pastures, and also sitting under those very trees, wreathed in pine-branches, generally silent, but sometimes solacing his loves on a pipe."[7] Pietro's father, though, has already dismissed such reports: "I should be surprised if this were lightly said to be so, especially among the Sicilians, for they are known to be so free and unbridled of speech that they are generally called triple-tongued."[8]

The conclusion in a landscape of timeless pastoral myth might be a consolatory fiction in the face of upheaval: the dialogue briefly mentions that it was written against the background of the French invasions of 1494, which brought the rapid collapse of Aragonese rule. Bembo's 1495 Aldine edition of the Greek grammar of Lascaris carries a preface lamenting the chaos in Italy; as *De Aetna* went to press later that year, Alfonso II died in Messina following his flight from Naples. Thus, on the one hand, we see in *De Aetna* the celebration of antiquity and its present-day afterlife quite distinct from the Rome-centered cultural norm with which Bembo, the creator of new canons of lyric poetry and prose in Latin and Italian, will soon be so emphatically identified. On the other hand, there are glimpses of a world already long contaminated by promiscuous interaction with cultural others. "Triple-tongued" (*trilingues*) denotes a propensity toward *mythos*, toward the fictive and illusion-generating character of speech itself, here alleged to be typical of the speech of Sicilians (it also, of course, resonates with "Trinacria," the Greek name for the "three-cornered" island). Yet Bembo is also alluding to the fact that in very tangible and self-conscious ways Sicily was "trilingual." Literary production and publication in Messina by the 1490s appeared in Latin, Sicilian, and Tuscan; some texts, notably the *Vita Christi*

Salvatoris eiusque Matris Sanctissimae (1492) by the Franciscan friar Matteo Caldo, were written in a composite of the three languages. By the early 1500s, and with the growing influence of the mature Bembo's *Prosa del volgare lingua* (1525), Tuscan became standard and Sicilian was reclassed not as a language but as a dialect form. Nonetheless, literary production in Sicilian continued, notably with the lyrics of the Siracusan Girolamo d'Avila and the Monrealese Antonio Veneziano, while the Messinese polymath Claudia Maria Arezzo would publish a defense of Sicilian against Bembo, entitled *Osservanti di la lingua siciliana et canzoni in lo proprio idioma*, in 1543. Such cultural pluralism was increasingly marginal after 1525, however, when the most influential Italian writers of the era, the Ferrarese Ludovico Ariosto and the Neapolitan Jacopo Sannazaro, were taking their cue from Bembo and writing in Tuscan. We saw that Summonte's praise of Florence and his catastrophic narrative of foreign invasion and cultural decline in Naples signaled that a certain notion of indigenous "national" culture, not pluralist but on the Florentine model, was gaining the upper hand. The indigenous regional cultures were very far from being equal.

The *questione meridionale* in the History of Art

Much of the historical fabric of the great Mediterranean metropolis of Messina in Sicily was utterly destroyed in an earthquake of December 28, 1908. In addition to mortality of 40 percent, losses included archives, numerous churches, and works of art. A long tradition of pre-1908 scholarship on the history and art of Messina in the 1400s and 1500s had elaborated the image of a Renaissance city, which, notwithstanding serious political vicissitudes, had embarked on programs of urbanism, building, and monumental artistic commissions designed to outstrip its insular rival, Palermo, and to emulate other centers of the peninsula. Yet this Renaissance Messina remains largely a memory, drawn from the testimony of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarians and chroniclers, whose reliability has often been questioned. The mainstream post-Risorgimento view "from the mainland" has been of a still-medieval city under Spanish domination and inevitably bound for a long, slow economic and cultural decline, benighted by a shift from flourishing late-medieval mercantilism to Spanish imperial neofeudalism, and with a collective mentality characterized by religious extremism or superstition. There were few attempts to conceive of post-medieval Sicily within a larger history of Italian art: Émile Bertaux, author of the monumental *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (1903) and a pioneer of the geography of art, gave no place to Sicily in his conception of "southern Italy," and "sixteenth century Italy" in Sydney Freedberg's 1971 survey stopped at Naples.[9]

The rejoinder, mainly but not exclusively advanced in recent decades by Sicilian scholars, has emphasized Messina's status as a Mediterranean metropolis with a substantial non-indigenous population maintaining distinct group identities, and as a place where commercial ties to Valencia, Sardinia, Genoa, Tunis, and the Levant were as important as relations with the mainland centers of the peninsula.[10] Thus, the discussion of certain artists becomes politically fraught, as they are made to testi-

fy to the "modernity" or "backwardness" of the South. This is especially the case with the most famous Sicilian artist, Antonello da Messina (1429?–79), a painter of European importance, whom Vasari recognized as an innovator with an impact on the modern painting of northern Italy. More recently, Antonello is still conscripted as testimony to "modernity" in Renaissance painting.[11] The reconstruction of the painter's formation remains controversial, deeply riven with ideologies of Italian and regional (Sicilian) identity, further complicated by deepening political and cultural divisions between northern and southern Italy. Pietro Summonte wrote in his letter to Marcantonio Michiel that Antonello was a disciple of the Neapolitan painter Colantonio.[12] Recently, some scholars have questioned the inference often drawn from this: that Antonello could not have received more than a provincial formation at his birthplace, and that only by his leaving Messina for Naples and Venice, even for Provence or Bruges, and perhaps with a trip en route to see Piero della Francesca's San Bernardino altarpiece at Urbino, could his art have acquired its synthetic and cosmopolitan character.[13] There has been much resistance, and not just by Sicilian scholars, to Longhi's assertion that tracing the development of Antonello to a Sicilian or Neapolitan ambient is "an error more grave than believing possible the birth of a Chinese of the Trecento with the plastic abilities of a Masaccio. . . . Southern artistic tradition could endow Antonello with nothing beyond a refined manual dexterity, since it was otherwise bereft of even the most elementary idea of style." All that was available to Antonello in the South was "the Catalan-Flemish tradition of brutally counterfeited reality," bereft of the intellectual refinement of the central Italian perspective.[14] At the same time, assertions of the essential "sicilianità" or "messineità" of the painter proliferate in recent writing, frequently evoking Leonardo Sciascia's idea of a "bioethnic order of resemblance" that links Antonello's portrait sitters to familiar Sicilian "types."[15]

Ultimately what is most "Sicilian" about Antonello also links him to the expatriate artists of the next generation who worked in Messina: the ways his painting manifests the processes of artistic translation especially characteristic of "maritime Italy" and the extended western Mediterranean milieu, the zone of transmission and exchange that extends through the trading networks connecting Sicily, Liguria, Provence, and Aragon.[16] As Florence and Rome began to consolidate as a style region in the later 1400s, far more heterogeneous kinds of artistic exchange and combination are visible between the regions to the north (Liguria-Lombardy-Veneto) and the great metropolitan centers of the South—Naples, Palermo, and Messina. Within this larger continuum, linking maritime Italy to a broader Mediterranean culture, Antonello has a wide range of stylistic counterparts: not just the Neapolitan Colantonio or the Netherlander Petrus Christus, but artists in Genoa like Joos Amman von Ravensburg or the Valencians Jacomart Baco and Pere Joan Reixach (both active in Naples) or—most striking of all in terms of stylistic evidence of direct contact—Barthelemy d'Eyck from Provence, who appears to have been in Naples between 1438 and 1442.[17] For commentators like Michiel, works now identified as Antonello's were artistic hybrids. The *St. Jerome* in London was, he

thought, a collaboration between a Venetian painter named Jacometto and a Netherlandish artist (fig. 3.1). There were most likely other "Antonellos," and it has been proposed that the most recent *opera completa* of Antonello da Messina's paintings includes work by more than one artist.[18] Indeed, slender but suggestive evidence points to other Sicilian painters working in Liguria and the Veneto at the end of the century.[19] Certainly, the existence of expatriate mercantile communities of Messinese in Venice as well as Venetians in Messina facilitated the extension of painting like Antonello's to the Veneto.[20]

3.1 Antonello da Messina, *St. Jerome in His Study*. c. 1474. On wood, 45.7 × 36.2 cm. London, National Gallery. Credit: © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY.

A characteristic example of artistic syncretism in Messina is the impressive altarpiece *Madonna of the Rosary*, installed with much ceremony and a solemn procession in the Dominican church of San Benedetto in 1489 (fig. 3.2).[21] Although concerned with the recently promulgated devotion of the rosary and its promotion by the Dominicans, the panel is also a proclamation of Messinese sovereignty and civic identity, invoking the Virgin as the sacred body politic. In 1490 Lascaris was commissioned to translate a letter in Hebrew allegedly from the Virgin herself to the people of Messina, associated with the cult of the Madonna della Lettera icon in the cathedral. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Virgin appears more effective than any patron saint in bringing the sacred into a relationship with a place. It is as if her sacred body, more than Christ's ubiquitous eucharistic one, can be translated into location, manifested in images and miracles at particular sites. The Virgin favors the local. She may have manifested herself in other places as well, but right *now* she is not more effective than *here*.

In the altarpiece, the Virgin is venerated as a heavenly apparition by Pope Sixtus IV and Emperor Frederick III, along with a host of cardinals, clergy, friars, and members of the Messinese elite (examples of portraiture in Messina in the decades following Antonello are curiously scarce). The city is depicted in an inset below a landscape with the story of the institution of the rosary by St. Dominic and the communion of the Magdalene, whose relics were preserved in San Benedetto. The altar-

3.2 Antonio Solario(?), *Madonna of the Rosary*. 1489. On panel. Messina, Museo regionale. Credit: Polo Regionale di Messina per i Siti Culturali / Museo Interdisciplinare Regionale di Messina.

piece, with its group portraiture, its alignment of the rosary confraternity with the municipality, and of the municipality with the pacific union of the two great religious and secular powers—a linking of the local with the global—anticipates a much better known work painted two decades later for another maritime city by an expatriate artist. Albrecht Dürer's *Virgin of the Rose Garlands*, created for a German rosary confraternity in Venice in 1506 (now Prague, Národní Galerie), is a distant relative of the Sicilian *Madonna of the Rosary*. The latter, heavily damaged in 1908, has been attributed to a range of artists—Antonello's son Jacobello, his follower Antonello de Saliba, his nephew Salvo d'Antonio, or the Portuguese Nuño Gonsalvez. A persuasive case has been made, however, for the authorship of the Venetian painter Anto-

nio Solario, nicknamed *lo zingaro*, "the gypsy," active in the Marches and in Naples in the later quattrocento (although no external evidence links him to Messina), and for a dating of 1479.[22] If that were the case, the altarpiece would be less significant as a dissemination of Venetian painting to the South than for its resonance within a more extended Mediterranean super-region—the sense in which, in presenting "Messina," it relays not just Venice and the local heritage of Antonello but also Spain, Provence, and even the work of Netherlanders like Hans Memling.

Beyond the efforts of a few historians and art historians based in Messina and Palermo, the recognition of Sicily's participation in a wider peninsular Renaissance has been slow to find broader acceptance: it is as if the stylistically hybrid character of paintings like the *Madonna of the Rosary*, or of the formidable Palermitan architecture of Matteo Carnilivari were not sufficiently Italian.[23] The sheer ambition of Girolamo Alibrandi's astonishing *Presentation in the Temple*, created for the confraternity church of the Candelora in Messina in 1519, is seldom appreciated outside its local context (fig. 3.3). A tragic relic of the Messinese Renaissance bearing the scars of its near destruction in the earthquake of 1908, the *Presentation* has aspirations to be more than local: it must be set alongside the most cutting-edge recent production of Rome, Venice, Florence, and Milan.[24] The megalomaniac architecture is informed by an awareness of the painter-architects Donato Bramante and Baldassare Peruzzi; the furiously gesticulating prophets in the spandrels, in a scale similar to that of the figures below, recall the grisailles of Netherlandish art and recent work by such Emilian painters as Amico Aspertini; while the central group of Simon and the Virgin is reminiscent of Giovanni Bellini's treatments of the theme. Many of the heads and faces suggest an Antonello subjected to severe abstraction. The prophetess Anna, in profile on the far left, is modeled on a Sibyl from Raphael's first Chigi Chapel, while a foreshortened head and neck of an old man on the right recalls Leonardo. While clearly conversant with painting in central Italy, Alibrandi resists the principles of monumental narrative art codified in the work of Leonardo, Raphael, Peruzzi, Sarto, and others. Particularly unsettling, and not just in its lack of relation to the ostensible subject, is the episode in the foreground, where a powerful kneeling woman holding an infant lunges forcefully to the right to interpose her massive arm between two small boys squabbling over a lamb; the artist's signature appears by her foot. Bystander figures seem as much engaged with this ruckus as with the Gospel episode taking place at the center of the composition.

A few documents provide dates for Alibrandi's surviving works, connecting him with important Catalan patrons and with the viceroy Hugo de Moncada: otherwise nothing is known about this painter.[25] Francesco Susinno's *Le vite de' pittori Messinesi* (1724) reported (or invented) a tradition that Alibrandi had gone to Venice to learn from Giorgione and then to Lombardy to study the works of Leonardo. Some modern commentators have tried to corroborate that biography from his paintings, with their echoes of Venetian, Lombard, and Roman art. Susinno was probably inventing Alibrandi in the image of the nomadic Antonello. However, style alone is not sufficient evidence of a journey to Lombardy and Venice. Much of

3.3 Girolamo Alibrandi, *Presentation in the Temple*. 1519. On panel, 542 × 351 cm. Messina, Museo regionale.
Credit: Polo Regionale di Messina per i Siti Culturali / Museo Interdisciplinare Regionale di Messina.

Alibrandi's knowledge of art throughout the peninsula could have been absorbed much closer to home: in Messina itself, possibly with trips to Naples and Rome.

The key lies in the foreground group of the woman and squabbling children: it serves as a deliberately extravagant evocation of recent Roman art. Comparable actions are shown in Raphael's fresco *Fire in the Borgo*, although there the motif of a mother with arm extended, roughly disciplining a child, has a clear relation to the context, as she and other victims of the fire herd their infants to safety. Alibrandi thus alludes to Raphael's invention without "quoting" it. It is an ironic citation aimed at artists and patrons conversant with the Roman art world—as was probably Alibrandi himself—although we will see that artistic inventions tended to spread with surprising rapidity in these years. Alibrandi has also anticipated Parmigianino and his future colleague Polidoro da Caravaggio in his expressive elongation of Raphael's ideal female proportions, arguably following a direction indicated by Raphael himself in his experimentally artificial later works.

Let us imagine a history of Renaissance art no longer invested either in the inevitable triumph of a Roman "classicism" embodied by Raphael and universal in its significance, or in its catch-all "anticlassical" rejoinder. What case might then be made for this work? Can Rome be thought of less as a point of origin and more as a site of confrontation, dialogue, and exchange?[26] If that is the case, what is Rome passing on to the South? The goal is to describe a different dynamics of transmission, in which Raphael's enterprise might indeed play a role, albeit less of a messianic one.

A Southern Renaissance without Vasari

> It is extraordinary that after the time of Giotto no masters of painting in such a great and noble city [as Naples] did work of any importance, even though some things by the hands of Perugino and Raphael had been brought in from elsewhere. I therefore exerted my mind and used my little knowledge to the utmost in order to awaken the talents of that country to great and honorable things. Whether for this or some other reason, many beautiful works in stucco and painting have since been made there.[27]

Given the paucity of other starting points, the history of Renaissance art in southern Italy has largely been an extended rejoinder to Vasari's deeply prejudiced accounts.[28] The problems, however, run deeper than Vasari: the recovery of what Vasari did *not* talk about poses a new set of historiographical questions. Vasari wrote on the basis of a highly selective acquaintance with art in Naples, where he worked in 1544–45; he seems not to have ventured farther south. It has been noted that the Tuscan artist regarded himself as singlehandedly bringing about the modernization of Neapolitan painting, just as Giotto had two centuries before.[29] Naples and Messina could only signify in the *Lives* as points on an axis linking them to Rome and Florence. Thus, Vasari's "mission" to Naples fulfills one of the main structural conditions of artistic journeys in the *Lives*. Polidoro da Caravaggio, the brilliant protégé of Raphael who ended his career in Messina, would be one of Vasari's tragic heroes in this respect. The attitude helps explain why local artists are barely mentioned (for instance, the sculptors

Giovanni da Nola and Girolamo Santacroce) or ignored altogether (the painters Andrea Sabatini, Giovan Bernardo Lama). Among Mezzogiorno painters active in Naples only Marco Cardisco ("Marco Calabrese") receives a short and condescending *vita*. Vasari acknowledged that unlike Cardisco himself, one of his collaborators had worked with distinction in Rome, but the biographer claimed that he was unable to find out his name; Cardisco's two disciples, Giovan Filippo Crescione and Leonardo Castellani, received no more than a mention, only by virtue of being "still alive and in constant practice of their art." The dearth of good local practice in the South is ascribed by Vasari in his Life of Polidoro da Caravaggio to the indifference or ignorance of the nobility (*gentiluomini*) of Naples, "so little interested in the excellences of painting."[30] The *gentiluomini* referred to by Vasari included the colonial Spanish nobility. Since the Spanish, in their preference for work broadly classed as "Flemish" or "northern," were regarded by Vasari and others as generally lacking in judgment in matters of art, the kinds of work they did commission were not even worth dismissing.[31]

The problem, however, may not have been just that Vasari's Florentine bias deprived him of a frame of reference. Writing a history with an internal trajectory of modernization, Vasari had no paradigm for representing the sheer variety of imported art to be seen in Naples or to represent the cultural dynamics long characteristic of the Spanish-Provençal-Sicilian continuum. Well into modern times, such a state of affairs would challenge the possibility of a local and a national history of art, where local meant "indigenous." Only late in the twentieth century did scholars consider southern Italy nonprejudicially in terms of a broader "Mediterranean circuit," as Ferdinando Bologna did in an important book published in 1977.[32]

Vasari ignored prominent Spanish artists in Naples (Bartolomé Ordóñez, Luis Vargas, Pedro Machuca). Yet he was equally inattentive to artists from northern Italy active in the region in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Deliberately or not, he failed to register the presence of Antonio Solario, or Cristoforo Scacco of Verona who had worked in Naples and Salerno, or the Milanese Protasio Crivelli, or the sculptor Tommaso Malvito of Como, whose works had been celebrated by poets.[33] No mention is made of Pedro Fernandez of Murcia, who had been a pupil of Bramantino in Milan. Among the few works in Naples by northern Italians he does mention are two altarpieces from the 1520s by an Emilian painter he despised, Girolamo da Cotignola—one "for the chapel of one M. Antonello, Bishop of I know not what place, in Monte Oliveto," the other for Sant'Aniello a Caponapoli—claiming that his working in Naples was a result of his failure to obtain commissions in Rome.[34] In short, the active and productive continuum between Sicily and "Lombardy" (Milan, Genoa) was as unsettling to Vasari's geographic mindset and narrative momentum as it has been for modern historiography.

Vasari was certainly aware of the outstanding Milanese painter Cesare da Sesto, to whom he refers several times in the Lives of other artists, while omitting any mention of his works in Naples, Salerno, and Messina.[35] Yet Cesare's relatively successful sojourns in the South were certainly less useful within the economy of the *Lives* than the doom-laden career of Polidoro da Caravaggio, whose *vita* includes some of the

biographer's most negative assessments of the region, confirming his personal association of artistic migration there with misfortune and catastrophe. A Lombard bricklayer, according to Vasari, who turned to painting in Rome and whose formation occurred entirely under Raphael, Polidoro is first a victim of the sack of 1527, then of a hostile or indifferent public in Naples, and finally—after achieving some well-earned success—of a murderous studio assistant in Messina.

Vasari is unstinting in his assessment of Polidoro's importance, especially (of course) in collaboration with the Florentine painter Maturino:

> they conferred greater benefits on the art of painting with the *bella maniera* that they displayed and with their marvelous facility, than have all the others together who have lived from Cimabue downwards. It has been seen continually, therefore, in Rome, and is still seen, that all the draughtsmen are inclined more to the works of Polidoro and Maturino than to all the rest of our modern pictures.[36]

Vasari may not be exaggerating here—the decorations of *all'antica* subjects that the two artists executed in grisaille on the façades of numerous Roman palaces would serve as textbook exemplars of the imitation of antiquity for generations of younger artists, as important as the Vatican *stanze* of Raphael and perhaps exceeding in importance the ancient works of art that the Polidoro-Maturino partnership emulated without conspicuous borrowing. Giovan Battista Armenini in 1587 referred to their painted façades as constituting a "course of instruction" (*instituta*) in the *vera ed antica maniera*.[37]

Not only did Polidoro and Maturino invent an influential form of *all'antica* decoration that made actual Rome look more like the *ideal* of Rome—in Vasari's words, "Rome, rejoicing, beautified itself through their labors"[38]—Polidoro also bore the Roman *bella maniera* south. If Vasari was aware that Polidoro had already worked successfully in Naples in 1524 (as we know from Summonte), he suppressed that crucial detail. Polidoro's southward journey had to fit the tragic momentum of the Life and be represented as a form of exile following the sack of Rome in 1527. In Messina, Vasari writes, Polidoro,

> [who] was always burning with desire to revisit Rome, which afflicts with an unceasing yearning those who have lived there many years, when making trial of other countries, painted as his last work a panel picture of Christ bearing the cross, executed in oils with much excellence and very pleasing color. In it he made a number of figures accompanying Christ to his death—soldiers, Pharisees, horses, women, children, and the Thieves in front; and he kept firmly in his mind the consideration of how such an execution must have been marshaled, insomuch that his nature seemed to have striven to show its highest powers in this work, which is indeed most excellent. After this he sought many times to shake himself free of that country.[39]

Such an account of Polidoro as a heroic but doomed artistic missionary has persisted in modern scholarship, which has seen Polidoro's southern career in terms of exile, alienation,

and even outright trauma following the sack of Rome. For Antonio Pinelli, moreover, the artist found himself "transplanted into a South aflame with religious anxieties, penitential outpourings, and reform movements."[40] Scholars like Pinelli are trying to account for effects that Vasari could not have been aware of: the dramatic, sometimes shockingly expressive idiom Polidoro adopted in late works like the *Christ Bearing the Cross* (1534), a painting of tremendous local celebrity and impact (fig. 3.4).[41] Almost all modern accounts of this

3.4 Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Christ Bearing the Cross*. 1534. On panel, 310 × 247 cm. Naples, Capodimonte. Credit: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

3.5 Raphael, *Spasimo di Sicilia.* 1517–19. On panel, 318 × 229 cm. Madrid, Prado. Credit: © Museo Nacional del Prado / Art Resource, NY.

3.6 Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Incredulity of St. Thomas*. 1530–35. On panel, 203 × 125.7 cm. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries. Credit: The Courtauld Galleries, London.

picture emphasize its shock value, its character of renunciation or defiance, especially when set beside Raphael's so-called *Spasimo di Sicilia*, sent from Rome to Palermo in 1517 (fig. 3.5). In other late works like the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (fig. 3.6), Polidoro appears to have renounced his Roman formation, adopting a harsh, improvisatory style invariably characterized as anticlassical or "eccentric."

Instead of seeing the late works as expressive primarily of the artist's psyche or of a spiritual "crisis" supposedly more prevalent in Sicily than elsewhere, here I will consider Polidoro's most famous Sicilian work as part of a long-established culture of artistic translation and adaptation entirely characteristic of the southern Italian port cities. I shall also propose that Polidoro's painting—like Alibrandi's—is shaped by the twenty-year efflorescence of this trans-peninsular and trans-Mediterranean Renaissance in the city of Rome itself. Polidoro in the 1530s seeks to sustain that *other* Roman High Renaissance, an aspiration now held to be without a future in the "capital" on the Tiber. At stake is not just an agonistic relation to Raphael, but a sense of common means and ends

with other expatriates from Lombardy, via Rome: Cesare da Sesto and Vincenzo da Pavia.

Cesare da Sesto: *Raffaelesco* or Anti-Raphael?

Giovanni Previtali, perhaps the most important twentieth-century revisionist on the history of art in Naples and the Mezzogiorno, regarded Naples as doubly peripheralized by Spanish political domination of the Mediterranean world and by Tuscan-Roman cultural hegemony.[42] For Previtali, the preeminence of the Raphael workshop in Rome from 1508 created a grand leap in the history of European art that the studios of Naples could scarcely hope to match. The result was a process of modernization, emanating from Rome, leading in Naples to what Previtali called a "maniera meridionale": "From that moment an avant-garde dynamic is unleashed, in which a renewal through Raphaelesque models, and sometimes the physical possession of cartoons and designs coming from Rome became the winning hand in the competition between the various [southern] workshops."[43] The holders of the winning cards were vanguard expatriates like Polidoro da Caravaggio and Pedro Machuca, as well as southerners like Andrea Sabatini da Salerno and Marco Cardisco. Together, this group of artists, drawing on their own contact with Raphael, are held to have created a southern Renaissance or "mannerist" style with discernible characteristics.

Rome in the first two decades of the 1500s mirrored the polyglot artistic culture that Summonte deplored in Naples, the site of an unprecedented convergence of expatriate artists, many working on Vatican projects for Julius II and Leo X. The notable presence of Lombards has been explained as the result of diplomatic brokering by the invading French regime in Milan, as well as the intervention of Bramante, formerly in Sforza service, in recruiting artists to decorate the apartments he had built for Julius II.[44] They included Bramantino, Cesare da Sesto, and the architect Perino da Caravaggio; other northern Italians included Jacopo Ripanda of Bologna, the Piedmontese Sodoma, Andrea da Venezia from Venice, and Michele del Becca from Imola. There were also to be found Perugino from Umbria, Luca Signorelli of Cortona, Baldino Baldinelli from Florence, and Baldassare Peruzzi from Siena. By 1510 Guillaume de Marcillat had arrived from the region of Bourges and Johannes Ruysch from Utrecht. Pedro Fernandez of Murcia and Alonso Berruguete of Palencia were active in Rome by 1511; more conjectural is the presence in the Vatican after 1509 of Andrea Sabatini from Salerno and Pedro Machuca from Toledo. There seems something programmatic about the broad scope of this papal recruitment of artists, and perhaps it can be connected to the geopolitical designs of Julius II, who ordered a map of Italy for his bedroom from Bramante in 1507.[45]

The impact of this convergence on the rest of the peninsula—especially as many artists took to the road again when Julius II died in 1513—is difficult to assess. In part this is a consequence of undated works and a dearth of documentation that would permit the tracking of several of these peripatetic artists from Rome to the South and elsewhere. It is also because, from the point of view of a history of art invested in the consistency of regional styles, the widespread impact of this encounter appears

unruly indeed. Unexpected affinities of style are revealed, connecting artists of the "Rome" group like Machuca, Sabatini, and Cesare da Sesto with artists elsewhere, such as Amico Aspertini in Bologna, Rosso in Florence, Beccafumi in Siena, and Cola dell'Amatrice in the Marches. A continuum of models and approaches linked Milan to Bologna to Perugia to Rome to Naples and beyond. Longhi ascribed the loss of the art geographical compass to the presence of Spanish artists like Machuca, whose foreignness gave them a freedom to jumble together ingrained and "atavistic" regional differences.[46] Yet the tendency was not just a special license claimed by foreign artists, nor were the regional stylistic differences they traversed so intractable.

While drawing on the scholarship and important insights of Previtali and others, the account that follows questions the orderly, Raphael-centric center/periphery scenario of modernization that has prevailed since Previtali wrote. The ascendancy of Raphael about 1509 did not stabilize this productive chaos, and the affinities that persisted in the 1520s among Machuca, Polidoro, Cesare, Sabatini, and the Messinese Girolamo Alibrandi—above all in their "vanguard" tendencies—cannot be accounted for as an outcome of "Raphaelism" as that is usually understood.

Cesare da Sesto has been a prime exhibit in narratives of the modernization or "Raphaelization" of the South.[47] Yet Cesare's remarkable body of work and the few known facts about his travels between Lombardy, Rome, Naples, Salerno, and Messina can sustain a different interpretation. Little is known about his training or early activity: his pictorial production suggests an initial adherence to the circle of Leonardo in Milan, although attempts to identify early works by him in Lombardy have not been widely accepted.[48] Beyond the surviving paintings themselves, only two of which are documented, the complicated trajectory of his career has been reconstructed on the basis of a handful of archival records (including his death certificate of 1523) and some brief references in Summonte, Vasari, and Giovan Paolo Lomazzo. About 1505, perhaps as late as 1508, the painter left Milan for a ten-year progress southward that took him to Rome, Messina, Salerno, and Naples. He appears to have been in Rome until at least 1512, working initially under Peruzzi and then in partnership with the above-mentioned Baldinelli in the Vatican apartments of Julius II.[49] His book of drawings now preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library includes many free reworkings of figures and compositions by Raphael, Michelangelo, and others, and demonstrates that he saw at least the drawings for the Tempi and the Alba Madonnas (if not the works themselves, in progress) (figs. 3.7, 3.8).[50] However, one sixteenth-century commentator, Lomazzo, recorded an alleged claim by Cesare that while he and Raphael had been good friends, neither had much regard for the painting of the other: "Our Cesare da Sesto was very dear to and held in high esteem by Raphael of Urbino, with whom, it is said, he would many times be found chatting so as to appear the best of friends, which indeed they were, but as regards the art of painting they had not the slightest respect for each other. Such is the talk of virtuosi, who gently strove in emulation with each other, and how blessed the world would be if such were to be found today."[51] Rather than being a Raphael follower, Cesare might be thought of as an

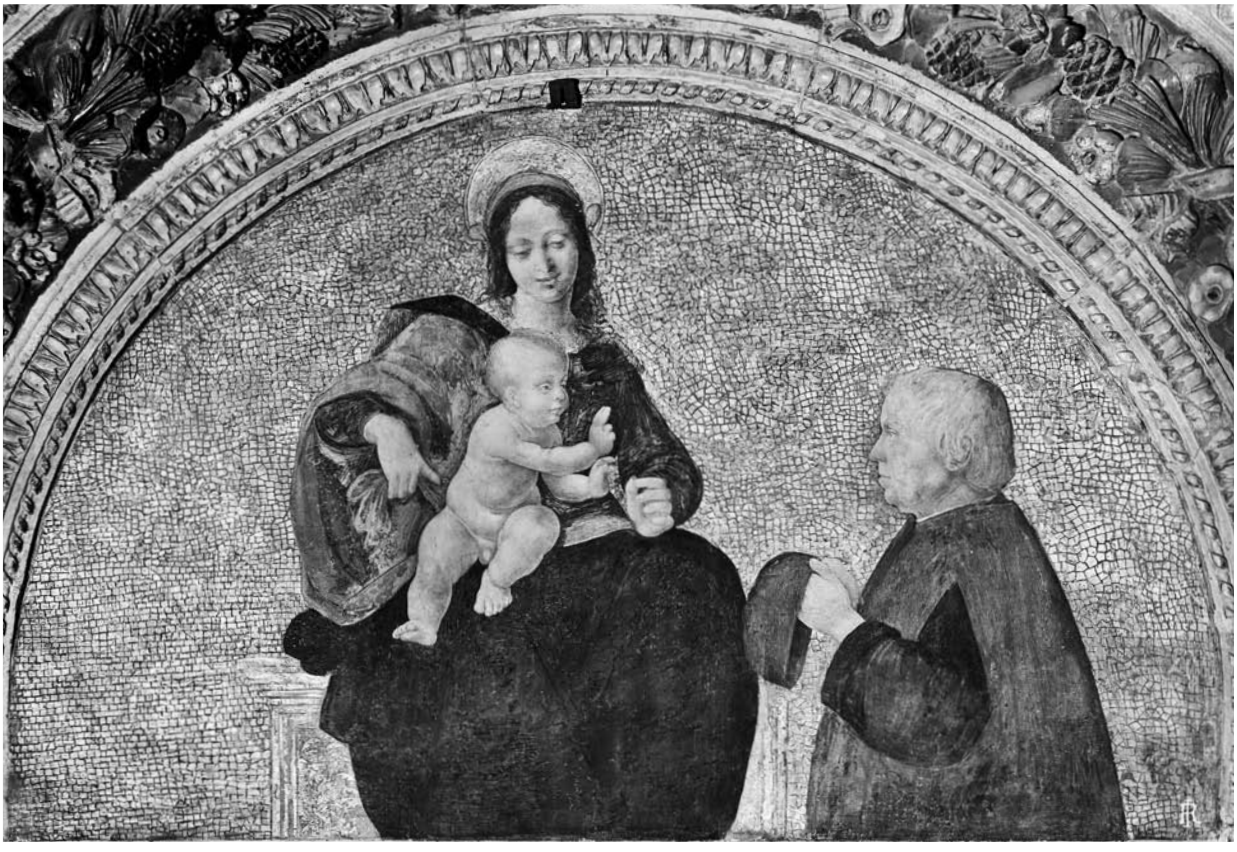
3.7, 3.8 Cesare da Sesto, Leaves from a sketchbook. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Inv. N. F. M. II 47 and Inv. N. F. M. II 57. Pen and brown ink over black chalk and red chalk, 18.7 × 14.1 cm. Credit: Pierpont Morgan Library.

artist with a parallel agenda: while Raphael emerged in Rome after ten years of systematic study and absorption of Perugino, Fra Bartolomeo, Leonardo, and Michelangelo, on his heels came Cesare, whose art traced a parallel itinerary through Leonardo and his Lombard followers, Venetian and Emilian painting, and his mentor, Peruzzi.

It is significant that Cesare gravitated to one of the leading figures in the Roman artistic scene before the arrival of Raphael. Peruzzi's importance, which was clear to Vasari and other commentators, has largely been eclipsed because of the loss of much of his work in painting: he was a pioneer of the *all'antica* façade decoration that would be taken up by Polidoro and Maturino, as well as of spectacular illusionistic perspectives and stage design.[52] While noted for his antiquarian mythological and historical frescoes based on the Domus Aurea decorations, he was one of several artists working in a Roman antiquarian *ars sacra* that incorporated painted figures in a contemporary style with archaizing pseudo-mosaic.[53]

Because he worked alongside Raphael at the villa of Agostino Chigi, Peruzzi has often been regarded as a senior artist coopted by Raphael's workshop. His hand has been identified in the ceiling of the Stanza d'Eliodoro, and he has similarly been regarded as executor of

other fresco projects designed by Raphael in the city.[54] These Raphael-Peruzzi collaborations are all speculative, and there is no corroborating documentation. The Villa Chigi, designed by Peruzzi, effectively became a showcase for the work of the two of them as painters, highlighting their diverse skills as decorators as well as their contrasting approaches to classical fable. Yet because the history of the "High Renaissance" in Rome has been written from a Raphael-centered point of view, the possibility that Peruzzi's studio might have represented an alternative, if not competitive, pole of activity—perhaps a more assimilative formulation of the modern manner—needs to be considered. One might also see the small body of surviving work connected with Cesare's years in Rome as a relic of a more pluralist Roman Renaissance, one largely to be swept away as Julius II and his successors furthered the virtual monopoly of Raphael, Michelangelo, and Sebastiano del Piombo. Cesare's *Virgin and Child with Donor* was probably painted about 1510–12 (some date it as early as 1506), for the convent of Sant'Onofrio on the Janiculum (fig. 3.9). The monumental, dynamic figure of the Virgin with flesh delicately modeled in sfumato is characteristic of a particularly Milanese



3.9 Cesare da Sesto, *Virgin and Child with a Donor.* 1511–12. Fresco. Rome, Sant'Onofrio al Gianicolo. Credit: Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

response to Leonardo (such as Luini or Boltraffio, Cesare's possible teacher), but the juxtaposition of a Leonardesque figure with a simulated gold mosaic ground evokes older traditions of Roman sacred painting, as they were current in Rome in the art of Antoniazzo Romano (d. 1510), or the recent Roman convention of simulated gold mosaic, adopted by Peruzzi at the same site and at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (1500–1509). Although now generally accepted as Cesare's, the work has been subjected to an array of attributions, ranging from the Lombard Boltraffio to the southern Italian Andrea Sabatini. Crucially, an aspect of Cesare's work resists being tied down to one place or a single local "school."[55]

Cesare is next documented between March and August 1515 in Naples, working with the local painter Gerolamo Ramarino on a polyptych for the abbey of Cava de' Tirreni (fig. 3.10).[56] By 1516 he had also completed the great altarpiece for the Genoese confraternity at San Domenico in Messina (fig. 3.11). The prevailing scholarly opinion since Susinno in 1724 is that Cesare

3.10 Cesare da Sesto and Gerolamo Ramarino, *Baptism of Christ* (Cava de' Tirreni polyptych). 1513–14. Cava de' Tirreni, Museo della Badia della Santa Trinità. Credit: Abbazia della SS. Trinità–Monumento Nazionale, Badia di Cava (Salerno).

3.11 Cesare da Sesto, *Virgin and Child with St. George and St. John the Baptist.* 1514–16. On panel, 257 × 205 cm. San Francisco, De Young Memorial Museum, Kress Collection. Credit: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

3.12 Girolamo Alibrandi, *Madonna dei Giardini*. 1516. On panel, 190 × 125 cm. Messina, S. Stefano Medio. Credit: Alessandro Mancuso, Edizioni Magika, Messina.

went directly from Rome to Messina after 1513, and that the work for San Domenico precedes that for Cava de' Tirreni. Susinno asserted that Cesare traveled there with Alibrandi, heading home following his sojourn in Lombardy.[57] Once again Susinno may have been filling in the blanks, but it is clear that the two artists would have had common interests. Alibrandi's *Madonna dei Giardini* in the parish church of Santo Stefano Medio near Messina, documented and datable to 1516, clearly draws on Cesare's *pala* (fig. 3.12). Certainly, the San Domenico altarpiece would account for Cesare's activity in the years 1513–15. I am inclined,

however, to think that it was completed only in 1516, very likely after a few months' hiatus in the spring and summer of 1515 while Cesare worked in Naples.

I dwell on this in part to call into question the way in which the favored chronology—Sant'Onofrio, then Messina, then Cava de' Tirreni—has been made to serve a particular arc of stylistic development: Marco Carminati sees a progression from Leonardism (Sant'Onofrio) to "Olympian Classicism" (Messina) to a work (Cava de' Tirreni) "pregnant with proto-mannerist humors."[58] Both altarpieces represent different productions by Cesare performing as the "painter from Rome," in accordance with the requirements of two different communities, and with "Raphael" only one element at issue in the recognition of "Rome." Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno* (1511–12) is clearly the model for the cloud-borne Virgin in the Cava de' Tirreni polyptych, but the tenor of the work as a whole is the "devout manner" of Perugino and his followers, which frames and recasts the invention by his most precocious follower. (Raphael himself around the same moment linked Perugino's manner to his own by preserving the older painter's vault frescoes in the new decorations for the Stanza dell'incendio.)[59] Perugino, whose Sistine *Baptism of Christ* is paraphrased in the central panel of the Cava de' Tirreni polyptych, had completed an altarpiece for the cathedral of Naples in 1510; he would have been on the minds of Cesare's patrons. Moreover, the cloud-borne Virgin herself has a local resonance, since the theme had been introduced locally by Andrea Sabatini, in his San Valentino Torio altarpiece of 1511, out of the orbit of Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno*.[60] Before documents proving the joint authorship of the polyptych for Cava de' Tirreni by Cesare and Ramarino were given serious consideration, most scholars assigned the work to Sabatini. Working independently, although probably aware of each other in Rome, the southern painter and the Lombard often arrived at stylistic formulations that were extraordinarily similar; we could call this the "trans-peninsular" manner of the 1500s. This affinity might well have led to Cesare's securing the commission for Cava de' Tirreni; his work for that abbey could even be seen as an instance of Cesare's outperforming Sabatini at his own game.

The commission for San Domenico, Messina, is a work with ambitions of an entirely different order (fig. 3.11). The altarpiece adorned the chapel of a Genoese confraternity dedicated to St. George; that saint and St. John the Baptist, both depicted, are the patron saints of Genoa.[61] Despite its being one of the most influential High Renaissance altarpieces, the painting's far-reaching impact at both ends of the peninsula has scarcely been recognized. Not only was it copied and mined for motifs by local artists,[62] it was known, probably through a smaller painted replica or a drawing, in northern Italy, where by 1521 it was a model for another Leonardo follower, Giampetrino, for San Marino in Pavia (fig. 3.13). Giampetrino's work is no pedantic derivation; while the asymmetric throne is close to the Messina altarpiece, the relief of St. Lucy has been replaced by a sensuous nude David with the head of Goliath; the Virgin and Child are a response to a later work by Cesare for Messina, *The Adoration of the* Magi (see below), and—as if cued in to the transregional aspiration of Cesare's work—the angel-borne canopy indicates that Giampetri-

3.13 Giampetrino, *Virgin and Child with St. John and St. Jerome*. After 1521. Pavia, San Marino. Credit: Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

3.14 Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*. 1520. On canvas, 300 × 275 cm. Bergamo, S. Bernardino. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

no paid close attention to Lorenzo Lotto's San Bernardino altarpiece for Bergamo, completed in 1521 (fig. 3.14).[63]

Paris Bordone of Treviso, based in Milan from 1548 to 1550, appears to have known about Cesare's altarpiece—either via Giampetrino's version or through the same lost autograph design that was its model. Bordone's *Virgin and Child with Sts. Anthony and Henry of Uppsala* was painted for the Tanzi family chapel in the cathedral of Bari about 1550 (fig. 3.15). The Tanzi were Milanese patricians,

3.15 Paris Bordone, *Virgin and Child with Sts. Anthony and Henry of Uppsala.* 1550–55. Oil on canvas, 190 × 114 cm. Bari, Pinacoteca Corrado Giaquinto. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

two of whom served as consul general for the Milanese community in the kingdom of Naples; their property and trading interests centered on the city in Puglia. Certain elements so closely recall Cesare's composition—the asymmetric throne with its column and drape, the landscape to the Virgin's right, the rhythmic contrapposto of St. Anthony of Padua mirroring that of St. George—that one wonders if Bordone or his patrons had consciously sought out a precedent for a work signaling an expatriate presence in a southern city. Perhaps it is not so surprising that Bordone should have known of a painting in a faraway city that he had never visited; a recent discussion of the work, although not noting the parallels with the Messina altarpiece, has pointed to a less prominent but undeniable evocation by Bordone of a major altarpiece for another city of the Adriatic basin: Vasari's *Adoration of the Magi* for Santa Maria Annunziata in Rimini.[64] In both cases, we are dealing less with cases of "influence" than of "positioning."

The widespread impact of Cesare's San Domenico altarpiece can be explained, I believe, because it has transregional ambitions and is profoundly conscious of recent altarpiece painting in Milan, Venice, Rome, and elsewhere. That is to say, it is not conceivable in terms of any single local practice in these places. Most assessments take a predictable line: Cesare got the commission because he was a Raphael follower, and the altarpiece is to be seen as a transmission of Raphael's new stylistic canon.[65] Much has been made of resemblances to two works produced by the Raphael workshop after 1512: the *Madonna of the Candelabra* now at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (c. 1513), and the so-called *Madonna of the Fish* commissioned by Giovanni Battista del Duce for the main Dominican church in Naples (fig. 3.16). Both paintings are undocumented, and dating for the Raphael altarpiece is based on a *terminus ante quem* in the form of a Venetian woodcut of 1517 that borrows the figures of the Virgin and Child. Tom Henry and Paul Joannides recently placed the execution of the picture to "mostly during 1514, perhaps

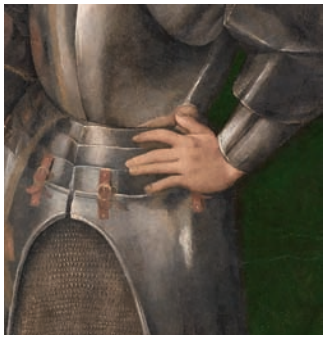
3.16 Raphael, *Madonna of the Fish*. 1516. Oil on panel, transferred to canvas, 215 × 158 cm. Madrid, Prado. Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

ongoing into 1515," although they posit an earlier lost design that served as the basis for an engraving (with significant variants) by Marco Dente.[66] That earlier design was probably known to Cesare and would explain his precocious anticipation of the *Madonna of the Fish*, although he could have seen that work at first hand in Naples if it had arrived there in the summer of 1515.

Still, the notion of Cesare's "Raphaelism" needs to be rethought, since Raphael is only one of an array of contemporary artists with whom Cesare is engaging. Cesare's Virgin and Child constitute a very free variation of supposed models: he is clearly attracted by Raphael's formal play between the forearms of the mother and child, and the hemline of the Virgin's dress. Cesare introduces tension and disequilibrium where Raphael imparts geometric stasis. Otherwise, he completely departs from Raphael in several respects. His reversal of the poses, the almost delirious smile of the infant (together with his angelic counterpart), the tawny complexions and the play of sfumato, and the scrupulous attention to the variations in lighting (for which Lomazzo will later praise this artist)[67] show the degree to which Cesare was assimilating Raphael to his own *leonardesco* formation. (Cesare, moreover, seems to have claimed the invention of the Virgin and Child as his own. It is repeated in the *Holy Family*, dated variously between 1514 and 1520, in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. This work, another essay in Leonardo's sfumato and expressive physiognomics—the grinning child, the gaping St. Joseph—manifests an increasing distance from Raphael and Rome.)

In other words, it is by no means clear that the San Domenico altarpiece was supposed to refer specifically or uniquely, at that moment, to Raphael. Raphael forms part of an evocation of the Roman art world, with elements more reminiscent of that world in the years before his ascendancy. Inset pseudo-reliefs and classical fragments were a characteristic feature of the art of Ripanda, Peruzzi, and Aspertini. True, the embedded relief of the Nine Muses below the throne is a liberal paraphrase of a passage in Raphael's *Parnassus*, recently completed in the Vatican Stanza della Segnatura. Although it is commonly stated that the upper relief of the Judgment of Solomon imitates Raphael's version of this subject for the vault of the same room, where it accompanies the personification of Justice, Cesare has gone to some lengths not to repeat Raphael's invention: adding a sphinx to Solomon's throne, revising the king's posture and giving him a scepter, rotating the executioner, and completely altering the disposition of the two mothers. A drawing related to Cesare's *Judgment* in the Morgan drawing book is already quite remote from the Segnatura version, but other sketches on the same sheet show that Cesare initially contemplated modeling the executioner on a soldier in Raphael's design for the *Massacre of the Innocents* (c. 1509), but then changed his mind (figs. 3.7, 3.17). The *grotteschi*, a form of invention that abounds in Cesare's notebooks, again invoke the most common signifier of painting *all'antica* in Rome over the previous decade. Engagement with art elsewhere does not end here: while the tree with withered branches is grafted from Dürer's engraving of about 1498, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, the other large relief to the Virgin's left, depicting St. Lucy, is a stock figure from the repertoire of Perugino.[68]

3.17 Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *Massacre of the Innocents.* 1509. Engraving, 28.1 × 43.3 cm. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art. Credit: Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.



3.18 Detail of fig. 3.11: hand of St. George with reflection.

Even as it adds to the composition's fastidious asymmetry, the dynamic sweep of drapery sets off St. George, providing a dark ground for his gleaming armor, thus recapitulating a characteristic of Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks*, whereby figures appear to emerge into light from shadowy depths. In addition, Cesare does not pass up the opportunity to paint the deformation of the saint's hand and lance as they appear mirrored in his armor, an effect famously connected with Flemish painting (fig. 3.18). Summonte would write in 1524 of a copy by Colantonio of a Netherlandish painting of St. George and the Dragon, in which "in the left arm was reflected the image of the dragon, as well represented in the lustre of the armor as in the glass of a mirror."[69] On the home territory of Antonello, however, such a detail needs to be seen as a virtuosic reprise of the city's most famous painter and the command of oil technique that had given Antonello such peninsular prominence, leading to major commissions in Venice and attempted recruitment by the Sforza of Milan.

Venice itself confronts Lombardy and Rome here. Somewhat unexpectedly, the decaying, asymmetric classical architecture, with fragments littered across the foreground, and the distant sunlit landscape are all modeled on an altarpiece located far to the north not only of Messina but also of Rome, and closer to Cesare's home territory. That altarpiece, moreover, is not Lombard but by a painter of the Veneto, Cima da Conegliano: the *Virgin and Child with Saints* (1496–98) for the Santissima Annunziata at Parma (fig. 3.19).[70] The

3.19 Cima da Conegliano, *Virgin and Child with Saints.* 1496–98. On panel, 194 × 134 cm. Parma, Galleria nazionale. Credit: Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

reminiscence of Cima's work is particularly manifest in Cesare's landscape and also in the fact that both of his standing saints seem to be variations on Cima's St. Michael: the pose of Cesare's St. George reverses that of Cima's archangel.

Is Cesare simply raiding his own travel sketchbooks, assembling a suitably "modern" work through a tissue of borrowings in a workmanlike fashion? Or does the process of imitation have a more conceptual basis? The references to different artistic traditions and affiliations appear to be self-conscious, as if they were being "performed" rather than cited or assimilated. Unlike Raphael, whose emulation of other artists took the form of a synthesis, Cesare's art seems more pieced together: synthesis is not achieved, because it is not desired. This is style in the making, style as something *willed* and premeditated, rather than an instance of the kind of reflexive or pragmatic mimicry often implicit in the unexamined concept of "influence." It is hard to imagine that any beholder, even a well-traveled artist similar to Cesare himself, would "get" the range of artistic references in the altarpiece without being prompted by its maker, although I maintain that the beholder would understand the general assimilative principle at work. We are tracking the artistic process of invention and what motivated it, which cannot always be aligned with considerations of the work's reception.

According to the author of the most thorough recent study of the San Domenico altarpiece, "Raphael is the painting's tutelary divinity."[71] Yet it is a betrayal of the painter's ambitions simply to label the work as an instance of Raphael's influence in the South.[72] While Cesare's altarpiece certainly registers the recent emergence of Raphael in Roman art, it also provides an alternative formulation of Rome and the "modern manner"; it is a remaking of Rome according to the artistic values of northern and southern Italy. This different reading of Rome signals not the priv-

ileging of a single classical, canonical style, or even the city on the Tiber, but a kind of "imagined community," a recognition of Italy according to a kind of deterritorialized flow and permeability of regions, cultures, and languages. Might there be anything else about the altarpiece that could further support such an idea—for instance, at the level of political iconography?

The juxtaposition of the Virgin with semiruined architecture, whether in the hands of Cima or Cesare, is highly charged. It can be read as a traditional iconography of the supplantation of paganism by the Church personified by the Virgin, or—and this is evidenced already in Cima with the partial modernity of the ruined structures, reminiscent of the contemporary architecture of the Lombardo workshop in Venice—it can suggest the hoped-for reversal of a catastrophe, a desire for (social, institutional, as well as architectural) reconstruction. Cesare's evocation of Raphael's *Apollo and the Muses* and the biblical theme of the Judgment of Solomon might carry the sense of the supersession of paganism and Judaism by the New Covenant, but they could also refer more directly to local events that occurred in the year 1516, while Cesare (as has been proposed above) was working on the altarpiece. The death on January 23 of that year of Ferdinand the Catholic, the Aragonese king who ruled over Sicily, precipitated a political upheaval throughout Sicily. Palermo, Syracuse, and other municipalities refused to recognize the continuing authority of the dead king's viceroy, Hugo de Moncada. Years of tension, exasperated by the king's extension of the powers of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Sicily beginning in 1511, erupted in open rebellion on the part of several of the leading noble families of Palermo. Moncada took refuge in Messina, which had refused to join the rebellion. Furthermore, the city's leaders sought to take advantage of the situation to have Messina instead of Palermo appointed viceregal capital. In Messina, moreover, in April 1516 Moncada ratified a concordat between two rival political factions; eighteen households of commoner families had challenged an alliance of forty-three patrician families on matters concerning the commoners' representation among the higher public offices. Ultimately, the scheme to make Messina the capital came to nothing: the ambassadors from the new sovereign, Charles V, went to Palermo instead of Messina and held deliberations with the rebels. Nonetheless, in September the Messinese sent to Brussels a charter of privileges for recognition by Charles, including the right to establish a mint, to expand Messina's silk exports to cities such as Cadiz and Seville, to undertake a reform of juridical procedures, and to curtail the powers of the Inquisition. It is more than likely that the altarpiece's imagery of justice and harmony is a response to these pressing concerns of 1516: Solomon is a type of justice embodied in the person of a ruler, whether a king or his viceroy, and would have resonated with the city's pursuit of the status of viceregal capital at that time.

Of course, the sponsors of the altarpiece were not native Messinese, but Genoese. They would have had much to gain from social stability, the nonpartition of Sicily, and access to royal or viceregal justice, whether in Palermo or Messina; several generations of Genoese had become citizens of Messina.[73] Privileges issued to the Genoese by Emperor Frederick

3.20 Pier Francesco Sacchi, *Annunciation.* 1516–19(?). On canvas (transferred from panel), 175 × 146 cm. Geneva, Private collection. Credit: PKB CreditBank Geneva.

Barbarossa in 1162 had secured their foothold as merchants in many of the cities of Sicily, and more than once they had placed their ships at the disposal of imperial military forces.[74] Despite contestation by the communities of Catalan and Valencian merchants, by the late 1400s the Genoese had substantial monopolies on the production and shipping of grain and on the island's lucrative silk industry. Branches of the most famous families of Genoa, such as the Doria and the Ventimiglia, had landed estates in the fertile plains of central Sicily. (Could this underlie Cesare's inclusion of a contemporary pastoral landscape with a Gothic church in the background of his painting?) The Genoese were importers of English and French textiles, African gold, Ligurian paper, and white marble from Carrara; the wealth of the Genoese made the banks of the Spinola and the Adorno indispensable sources of credit for the imperial administration. These merchant bankers were rewarded with interest in the form of privileges, exemptions, titles, offices, and large holdings of land.

Might the production of an altarpiece for this expatriate community have provided a stimulus to Cesare's approach—above all in his systematic integration of different practices of modern painting from throughout the peninsula? The artistic culture of Genoa in the late 1400s and the early 1500s was also characterized by the relay of styles and models from elsewhere, by style as syncretic performance, and by well-established artistic links with Sicily.[75] The contemporary *Annunciation* (painted in Genoa in 1516–19?) by Pier Francesco Sacchi of Pavia is an example of a work that is equally conscious of contemporary Netherlandish and Lombard approaches to its subject (fig. 3.20).[76] Sacchi's treatment can be seen as a kind of middle ground between Luini (for example, his *Annunciation* in the Brera, sometimes given to Bernardino Zenale) and the Netherlander Joos van Cleve, whose paintings were known in Genoa from the middle of the second decade of the 1500s and who may have worked in the city.[77] Sacchi's *Annunciation* is comparable to Cesare's altarpiece in the predilection for grisaille *all'antica* ornament, including *grotteschi*, in its radiant background landscape, and in the incorporation of an internal frame of secondary images that provides the main subject with a typological commentary.

Sacchi had connections with the Gagini family of sculptors, themselves immigrants from Genoa a generation earlier, who dominated sculptural production in Palermo while serving clients in Messina and maintaining links with the mainland (their marble, for instance, was usually obtained from Carrara).[78] The Genoese presence in Sicily may have drawn one of Sacchi's followers, Vincenzo degli Anzani da Pavia, to relocate to Palermo from Genoa about 1519.[79] Vincenzo's workshop would be the leading producer of altarpieces in Palermo until midcentury, and he also worked in Messina. While working frequently in an angular, expressive style, even a late work like his altarpiece for the Confraternità di San Gottardo (c. 1548; fig. 3.21) looks back at the Ligurian works of Sacchi, especially in the handling of landscape and in the characterization of hermit saints in the latter's *St. Anthony, St. Paul, and St. Hilarion* (1516), for the church of San Sebastiano in Genoa (fig. 3.22).[80] Older sources, however, insisted on Vincenzo's Roman formation and his discipleship of Raphael—he was sometimes referred to in documents as

3.21 Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia, *St. Corrado*. 1548–49. Palermo, Galleria di Palazzo Albatellis. Credit: Palermo, Galleria regionale della Sicilia.

3.22 Pier Francesco Sacchi, *St. Anthony, St. Paul and St. Hilarion.* 1516. On panel, 168 × 141 cm. Genoa, Galleria del Palazzo Bianco. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

"Vincenzo il Romano"[81]—and recorded that his drawings circulated in Sicily as autograph works of Raphael. While little could be further from Raphael than his earliest known work, the 1520 *Nativity* for the Mastrantonio Chapel in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli alla Gancia in Palermo, Vincenzo's *Marriage of the Virgin* of about 1529 for the same church suggests a new, close engagement with Roman art: Peruzzi in its extravagant architectural perspectives and Raphael's *Isaiah* in its garland-bearing child angels.[82] Given his absence from documents between 1519 and 1529, it is probable that the artist was in Rome during those years. His mode of translating Roman art to the South is more reminiscent of Alibrandi; there is little attempt to abide by Raphaelesque principles of composition or idealized anatomy or to borrow conspicuously from Raphael's now-famous works.

An increasing distance from Raphael is apparent in the later work of Cesare, who had

3.23 Cesare da Sesto, *Adoration of the Magi*. 1519. On panel, 325 × 270 cm. Naples, Capodimonte. Credit: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

3.24 Baldassare Peruzzi, *Adoration of the Magi*. 1522–23. Pen and ink and brown wash on paper tinted brown, 112.5 × 107 cm. London, British Museum. Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.

returned to northern Italy between 1516 and 1518. When he came back to Messina, perhaps in 1519, there were at least three major Raphael works in the South: the Alba Madonna was in Salerno; the *Madonna of the Fish* (fig. 3.16) had arrived in Naples between 1516 and 1519; and the work known as *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia* had arrived in Palermo in 1517 (fig. 3.5); in addition, a tondo of the Holy Family by Raphael's close follower and heir Luca Penni was in Salerno. Yet Cesare's 1519 *Adoration of the Magi* for the confraternity church of San Niccolo dei Gentiluomini in Messina is anything but an exercise in Raphaelism and is surprisingly wide-ranging in what it seeks to bring together (fig. 3.23). Once again classical architecture rises in a sunlit landscape, both considerably more ambitious and elaborate than in the earlier Messina altarpiece. Both are remarkably similar to the landscape and ruins in a composition by Peruzzi, who also included the detail of the dead tree with lopped-off branches (fig. 3.24). Peruzzi's architecture, which dwarfs the human figures, is a more gargantuan version of the ruins in Cesare's painting, but his mountain landscape includes the rising pathway that is reprised by Cesare. A dilemma is posed here by the conventional dating of Peruzzi's composition to 1522–23, which would indicate that he had followed Cesare's lead rather than vice versa: the possibility should not be discounted, but it seems more likely that Cesare, while passing through Rome in 1518, had seen an invention in progress by his former employer.

The Virgin is an adaptation of an engraving by Dürer—probably the most influential artist in Italy around 1520—*Virgin and Child with the Monkey*, but with the sfumato modeling and half-smile of Milanese painting after Leonardo. Despite what is constantly asserted about the "Raphaelism" of the *Adoration*, only one slight, rather ironic detail refers to a painting by Raphael. A bearded figure to the right of the white horse's neck looks out in the direction of the beholder, apparently addressed by a pointing figure who looks back to talk to him: the passage is clearly modeled on Raphael's own so-called *Self-Portrait with His Fencing Master*, suggesting that the outward-looking figure is Cesare's self-portrait (fig. 3.25). If this is a homage to Raphael, one that indicates a very intimate knowledge of his recent works, it is

3.25 Raphael, *Self-portrait with a Friend*. 1518. Oil on canvas, 99 × 83 cm. Paris, Louvre. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

3.26 Correggio, *Adoration of the Magi*. c. 1518. Oil on canvas, 84 × 108 cm. Milan, Brera. Credit: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

also a displacement of him, given the absence of any other reference to Raphael's painting in the composition. There is, as it were, a will to emulate Raphael's status without repeating his style. The most striking stylistic translation of another artist, however, is, perhaps surprisingly, of Correggio, indicating that Cesare had made a second trip to Parma. The young Correggio's *Adoration* (fig. 3.26) provides a striking comparison with the Messina painting. In both cases, rich "Lombard" color is integrated with Leonardesque sfumato. Strikingly similar are the delicate contrapposti of the standing Magi and the physiognomy and posture of the eldest one. The painting once again shows a panoramic geographic consciousness at work: it is a striking bid to assimilate and to perform an entire up-to-the-minute repertoire of Italian painting, one that links Messina to multiple artistic currents of the peninsula as Antonello had done.

Cesare's *Adoration* is dated 1519 because of its impact on Girolamo Alibrandi's securely dated *Presentation in the Temple* (fig. 3.3), the work that, as we have seen, constitutes a climax to the alternative Romanism we are tracing in Messina. The remainder of Cesare's short career was characterized by further experiments in assimilation, a tendency closely aligned with his facility in collaborating with other artists. In addition to working with Peruzzi, Balduino, and Ramarino, he formed an association with a specialist in landscapes named Bernardino Marchiselli, or Bernazzano, whose works were praised by Vasari.[83] The "Netherlandish" character of Bernazzano's landscapes took Cesare's

inclusive model of modern Italian art one stage further. Clear parallels exist between Cesare's endeavor and one of the positions—ultimately the losing one—in the debates about the Italian language. According to Bembo, who espoused a very different point of view in his own manifesto on the Italian vernacular, the courtier-poet Vincenzo Calmeta (1460–1508) had written a treatise entitled *Della volgar poesia*, proposing as a model of the vernacular the language of the pontifical court of Rome, which was formed by the mixture of Italian languages spoken by courtiers from throughout the Italian peninsula. This is the linguistic equivalent of the inclusive and assimilative version of "Rome" or "Roman art" that preceded the ascendancy of Raphael, in the early years of Cesare's sojourn in Rome. Calmeta's position anticipated the syncretic model of courtly Italian proposed first by Baldassare Castiglione in 1528, and then the more elaborate theory of the *volgare* offered by Gian Giorgio Trissino in his 1529 dialogue *Il Castellano*. Drawing on Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*, which he had rediscovered and translated, Trissino prescribed a synthesis of the various Italian vernaculars. Bembo, however, in his *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), advocated a highly restricted Tuscan literary canon as the model for an Italian "national" language, with Petrarch as the model for poetry and Boccaccio for prose.[84] This idea of a canon, as has already been observed, parallels the supreme exemplarity of Bembo's friend Raphael in the visual arts, in the years following the artist's death in 1520. Yet Lomazzo, who kept the memory of Cesare da Sesto alive at the end of the sixteenth century, seems to have been attuned to the regional pluralism in this artist's practice, a clear antecedent of the theorist's own pan-Italian canon in his *Trattato* and *Idea del tempio della pittura*: Cesare is now praised alongside Leonardo and Dürer, elsewhere with Lotto, and in another passage with the brothers Campi of Cremona.[85]

Polidoro da Caravaggio's Radical Late Style

Polidoro da Caravaggio's *Way to Calvary* of 1534, commissioned for the Santi Annunziata dei Catalani in Messina by Pietro Ansalone, was the artist's most famous work in Sicily and the only one mentioned by Vasari (fig. 3.4).[86] The citizens of Messina clearly regarded Polidoro's work as nothing less than a civic palladium. A series of formal public ceremonies surrounding its installation at Santissima Annunziata, including a great devotional procession, essentially turned the painting into the object of a civic cult; the occasion seems to have been a conscious evocation of the earlier (1489) procession for the consecration of the *Madonna of the Rosary* (see discussion at fig. 3.2). The humanist Cola Giacomo d'Alibrando published a poem in seventy-six stanzas describing the event in terms that suggest a reenactment of the procession to Calvary itself, praising the devotion of the people of Messina as well as of the painter.[87]

The altarpiece clearly asks to be seen as a response to Raphael's *Spasimo* (fig. 3.5), which the painter closely studied. The point would not have been lost on the artist's public: the Ansalone family also maintained a chapel in the church in Palermo where Raphael's work was housed. As we have seen from circumstances described above, rivalry with Palermo could have been a major factor in the promotion of a work produced by a famous

modern artist, with the added luster that the artist himself had lived in Messina for several years and had executed a series of major commissions for leading families and religious institutions. At the same time, in modern scholarship, Polidoro's move south in 1527 is usually seen to correspond with a disconcerting change of direction, which, despite Vasari's positive assessment, has seemed to many commentators like an undoing of Roman *bella maniera*. A series of preliminary studies in oil for the Santissima Annunziata painting shows the artist systematically revising and estranging Raphael's composition, with an intensity of revisionism unparalleled in sixteenth-century artistic imitation. The almost brutal character of the work, a deliberate coarsening of Raphael and of Polidoro's own earlier style, has even been seen as the result of an intervention by other hands—Longhi insisted that Polidoro must have been at least aided by a Dutch or German artist[88]—or as the expression of self-alienation, a kind of posttraumatic reaction to the sack of Rome.[89] Against the grain of such readings, I shall conclude by viewing the *Way to Calvary* as more critical and deliberative than agonistically individualist in its motivations. It is informed by a particular sense of the issues at stake in translating Rome to Sicily, not least by Polidoro's own awareness of an alternative *romanità* propagated in the art of other Lombards and Sicilians, such as Cesare, Alibrandi, or Vincenzo da Pavia.

First, I note a certain tension between the production and the reception of the work. Polidoro's revisions to Raphael very clearly have the intended effect of focusing the composition on the person of Christ himself; the swooning Virgin, relative to her appearance in Raphael's painting, has been decentered. Christ is significantly more isolated at the center of Polidoro's composition; the focus on his role as Man of Sorrows is underscored by the prominent display of the Veil of Veronica or *sudarium*, imprinted with his features, an iconographic detail that Raphael did not include. Yet the ceremonial reception of the work and Alibrando's publicizing of it in a literary composition entitled *Il Spasmo di Maria Vergine* reassign it to the domain of Marian devotion and to the civic cult of the Virgin as protectress of Messina.

The "alienation" theory, as it happens, can be confronted by pointing to the example of other artists in Sicily in their depiction of themes from Christ's Passion. The leading artists of Sicily tended to make comparable stylistic choices when handling this kind of subject matter, a stylistic modulation altogether more rare in central Italy (Pontormo's evocations of Dürer in his Certosa di Galuzzo Passion cycle were seen as anomalous and earned him the vituperation of Vasari). Antonello Gagini, one of the dynasty of sculptors from the Ticino active in Genoa, Palermo, and Messina, usually worked in a florid, idealizing manner that would not have been out of place in Rome or in Milan, alongside the work of Andrea Sansovino or Bambaia. It was Antonello's workshop that made the marble surround for Raphael's *Spasimo* in Palermo.[90] Characteristic of his usual *maniera* is the exquisite life-size figure of St. Margaret for the tomb of Eufemia Requesens in the chiesa della Gancia in Palermo (c. 1520–30; fig. 3.27). Yet when he had to treat subjects from the Passion of Christ—as in the case of the *Pietà* for Soverato in Calabria from 1521 (fig. 3.28)—Gagini looked to angular,

3.27 Antonello Gagini, *St. Margaret*, from the tomb of Eufemia Requesens, chiesa della Gancia, Palermo. 1519. Marble, 139.7 × 54.6 × 18.2 cm. Cleveland, Museum of Art. Credit: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1942.564.

3.28 Antonello Gagini, *Pietà*. 1519–21. Marble. Soverato (Calabria), SS. Addolorata. Credit: Photo by Francesco Antonio Tropea.

expressively agonized Netherlandish and German examples. Not unreasonably, the sculpture has been taken as evidence of Gagini's acquaintance with contemporary sculpture in Rome, Michelangelo's Vatican *Pietà* in particular (it has been convincingly proposed that Antonello worked in Michelangelo's workshop in 1506–8, when he is undocumented in Sicily),[91] but the thorough transformation of such a model, manifest in the jagged drapery folds, the angular silhouette, the haggard and elderly Virgin, is noteworthy. For Gagini and his clients, the modern manner of Rome was here insufficient, and required to be supplemented by a different modernity—that of the northerners and the Iberians. It has correspondingly been observed that some of Polidoro's Passion subjects, such as the *Lamentation* (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte), amplify the already strongly expressive stylizations of the painter Pedro

3.29 Vincenzo da Pavia, *Deposition.* 1533. On panel. Palermo, Santa Cita. Credit: Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

3.30 Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *Deposition*. Engraving, 40 × 28 cm. London, British Museum. Credit: © Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.

3.31 Vincenzo da Pavia, *Lamentation*. 1540s(?). On panel. Palermo, S. Maria della Pietà. Credit: Prefettura di Palermo.

Machuca of Toledo, whom he may have known in Rome and who preceded him in heading south to work in Naples and Salerno.[92]

In 1533, just as Polidoro was engaged in his radical *rifacimento* of Raphael, Vincenzo da Pavia produced his own revision of a Raphael prototype, which he most likely knew from a print by Marcantonio Raimondi, in his *Deposition* for the church of Santa Cita in Palermo (figs. 3.29, 3.30). The shrill colors, the attenuation of anatomy, the heightened emotional register parallel Polidoro's translation of Raphael's *Spasimo*. Within a few years Vincenzo would outdo Polidoro in the ferocity of his own Passion subjects, as in the *Deposition* for St. Peter Martyr in Palermo of 1540, or the

3.32 Vincenzo da Pavia, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*. c. 1540. On panel, 318 × 227 cm. Palermo: Galleria di Palazzo Albatellis. Credit: Galleria regionale della Sicilia.

Lamentation for Santa Maria della Pietà of the same year (fig. 3.31). This is not the symptom of an inevitable and irreversible stylistic development: for other kinds of images, such as the Virgin with saints also for St. Peter Martyr, Vincenzo turned to prototypes in northern Italy, like Lotto's altarpieces in Bergamo (in itself an important indication of strong connections being maintained—possibly through repeated journeys—between Lombard expatriates and their home territory; compare figs. 3.32, 3.13).

Polidoro's transalpinism has often been commented on, but more is at stake here than the availability in Messina of new Netherlandish or Iberian visual sources. We may infer more broadly that in the business of making

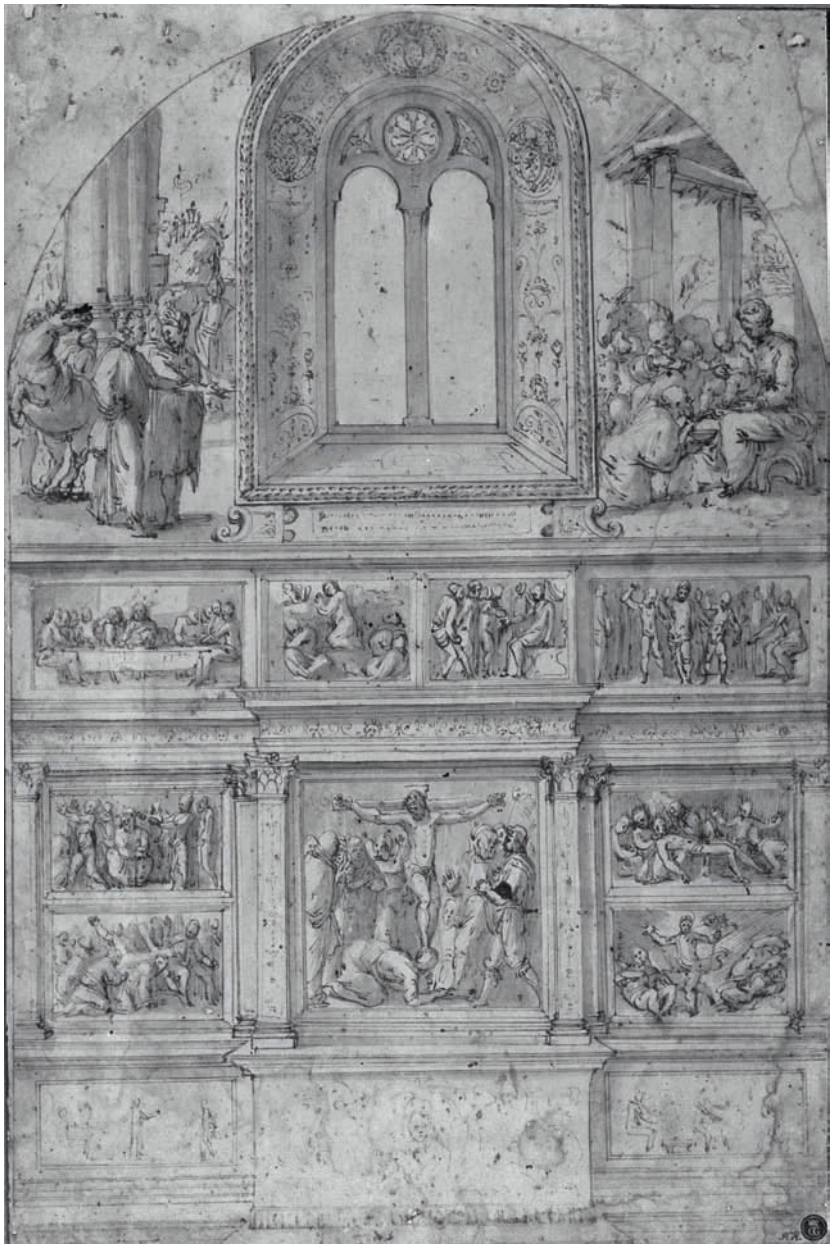
sacred art, the Raphaelesque prototypes being diffused from Rome did not adequately serve the purposes of artists and their publics—especially as regards the image of Christ and the representation of the Passion. Thus, Polidoro plays on what he perceives as inadequacies of the *Spasimo*, tearing open what Raphael had rendered as a seamless assimilation and relentlessly excavating his sources. Polidoro recognized that Raphael's *Spasimo*—painted in Rome—was in part modeled on a print by Lucas van Leyden (fig. 3.33). Polidoro translates the composition back into its archetypes, dissolving the refinements and blandishments of *bella maniera*. This does not mean that Polidoro was creating an anti-aesthetic or that he was opposed to the principles of artifice, even as he sought to resituate his art in relation to the cult of sacred images. Although his painting was known, like Raphael's, as *lo Spasmo*, referring to the Virgin's *spasmo*, or swoon, Polidoro's focus was actually on the unidealized, brutally descriptive face of Christ and on the generation of images from Christ's face—presented, conspicuously, a second time, on the cloth of Veronica at the right edge of the painting.[93] The painting displaces dependency on Raphael's prototype and Raphael's style in favor of a direct filiation to the style-less archetypes made from the face of Christ himself—such as the *sudarium* in Rome, possibly also the *Mandylion* in Genoa.[94] Here, it is of great relevance that the church of the Annunziata dei Catalani not only housed an icon of the Virgin Hodegitria "tenuta in ogni tempo in grandissima veneratione" but was renowned for the indulgences it had been granted by Clement VII and earlier popes.[95] For this rea-

3.33 Lucas van Leyden, *Christ and Veronica*. 1515. Engraving, 8 × 10.5 cm. London, British Museum. Credit: © Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.

son, the poet Cola Giacomo d'Alibrando pronounced the site of Polidoro's painting—the Arab-Norman church of the Annunziata—to be already "un'altra Roma piena di eccellenzia."[96] "I desist from telling of the indulgences there are on Wednesdays and on days of penitence, and those which were granted through divine providence by holy Clement for Mondays, which makes [the church] through good and pious will another Rome full of excellence, with so many indulgences granted and not unequal to those in Rome."

"Un'altra Roma"—another Rome. Not one, however, that is to be simply a remaking of Rome as it then existed, the Rome of Raphael, Michelangelo, and Bramante, the Rome that had barely and only with catastrophic losses (including the Veronica relic) survived the violence unleashed against it by the troops of Charles V in 1527. As with Cesare da Sesto, and again in parallel with Calmeta's idea of the pluralist vernacular, a desire is expressed here for Rome to be inclusive, a meeting ground for multiple dispensations of the modern manner. That other Rome had existed by the early 1500s, but it had now been eclipsed.

It turns out not to be the case, however, that Polidoro's anti-*maniera* in the *Christ Carrying the Cross* represented a completely new departure in his work. Polidoro was returning to a little-known and little-respected earlier phase of the work he had done in Rome itself. Writing of Polidoro's early partnership with Maturino in Rome, Vasari is unstinting in his praise of the monochrome antiquarian decoration showing violent scenes of conflict, depredation, and sacrifice with which they adorned numerous palace façades throughout the city. He is far more censorious of their work in color—for instance, at the house of the cardinal of Volterra, "which is so badly executed, that in it they diverted from its true excellence the good *disegno* they always had." With the same "insane confidence," they completed some figures for the Martelli altar at Sant'Agostino in Rome, which "appear to be by the hands, not of illustrious masters, but of simpletons just beginning to learn."[97] (By contrast, Vasari did praise the landscape compositions by Polidoro in San Silvestro al Quirinale.) Although nothing survives of these examples of what Vasari regarded as a dissonant and artless manner, some idea of what he might have been referring to can be seen in a Roman work he did not mention. In 1522, jointly with Perino del Vaga, Polidoro was commissioned to execute a Passion cycle for the chapel of the Swiss Guards in Santa Maria della Pietà in Camposanto dei Teutonici, the cemetery church of the German and Flemish communities in the Vatican.[98] The cycle survives in a fragmentary and mutilated condition, and its general appearance is best understood from a project drawing by Perino now in the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 3.34). The monumental composition in the lunette, the *Adoration of the Magi*, is in Perino's characteristic stately manner, as seen in the Pucci Chapel at Santa Trinita dei Monti. The more cursory Passion scenes and altarpiece were probably the portion assigned to Polidoro. Later commentators were struck by the divergence of handling in the cycle: Giulio Mancini recorded the attribution to Polidoro but was of the opinion that a "German" artist was involved; Pachiotti in 1927 was of the same opinion.[99] It can be seen from the drawing that the artists modeled their composition of Christ Carrying the Cross on the same Lucas



3.34 Perino del Vaga, Model drawing for frescoes in the Chapel of the Swiss Guards. c. 1522. Ink and wash on paper, 40.9 × 26.8 cm. Vatican, S. Maria in Campo Teutonico. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum. Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

van Leyden print that had served Raphael as a model for the *Spasmo*. The painting of the *Last Supper*, *Agony in the Garden*, *Lamentation*, and *Resurrection* (fig. 3.35) is brusque, even cursory, and, in its pursuit of the immediate and the expressive, seems to shun the delicate, mediating refinements of *disegno* that constituted the regular output of the Raphael shop and of followers like Perino.

In the *Lamentation*, Polidoro appears to have departed from the drawing—Christ has been laid on a white sheet on the ground, while

3.35 Polidoro da Caravaggio, Frescoes in the Chapel of the Swiss Guards, details. c. 1522. Vatican, S. Maria in Campo Teutonico. Credit: Courtesy of the Archconfraternity Santa Maria in Campo Santo in the Vatican.

the Virgin and other mourners perform gesticulations of grief. More than a decade later, none other than Vincenzo da Pavia seems to have had this composition in mind when he painted his own *Lamentation* for Santa Maria della Pietà in Palermo (fig. 3.31).[100] The correspondence is particularly evident in the face of Christ and in the pose with drooping neck and trailing arms: such a parallel points to later contact between the two artists in Sicily, or it could confirm the putative Roman sojourn by Vincenzo after his arrival in Palermo in 1519.

That Vincenzo at this time was perceived to be "of Rome," as his painting drifts further from Rapahelesque canons and back toward a kind of experimental reception of northern art by Italian painters around 1520, leads us to the following conclusion. Rather than provincial-

izing or going native in the Sicilian periphery, Polidoro, Vincenzo, and their predecessors Cesare da Sesto and Giacomo Alibrandi are engaged in an ambitiously expansive, nonmonolithic reconception of what "Rome" might mean as an artistic or cultural identity, arising again from a sense of Rome as a site of artistic multiplicity. Polidoro's Messina altarpiece (and this is also the case with Polidoro's other Sicilian works) still insistently thematizes Rome, in the form of the *all'antica* landscape and classical architecture. Rome, the point of passage or intersection for an international community of artists, becomes the model, in Polidoro's hands, for an artistic transregionalism: one that seeks to include not only the *bella maniera*, the triumphal classicism of the papacy and the emperor, but also the modes of artistic expression that they were being perceived, not incorrectly, to eclipse.

4 *Distant Cities*

Lorenzo Lotto and Gaudenzio Ferrari

Lorenzo Lotto: An Artist "Out of Place"

From the 1300s Venice exported more paintings than any other Italian city. By the late fifteenth century, the workshops of the Vivarini, the Bellini, of Cima da Conegliano, and Carpaccio were supplying chiefly altarpieces to destinations throughout the *terraferma* and sites along the Adriatic coast as far south as Puglia.[1] Some Venetian artists—Jacopo de' Barbari, Bartolomeo Veneto, Antonio Solario, Paris Bordone—left their hometowns to establish temporary outposts of production in Nuremberg, Augsburg, Milan, Naples, and elsewhere, but few artists would have their career so uniquely determined by the larger peninsular market as Lorenzo Lotto, who—despite several attempts to resettle in Venice—spent the greater part of his working life in locations far from his city of origin. By 1503 the artist, then in his early twenties, had transferred his workshop to Treviso in the Veneto. He is subsequently documented in Recanati in the Marches (1506–8) and in Rome (1509–13?). He produced further paintings in the Marches before moving to Bergamo in 1513 for a lengthy sojourn of twelve years. The year 1525 saw him back in Venice: he continued to send paintings to destinations in the March-

es before returning to the region in 1533, also dispatching paintings to Giovinazzo in Puglia and for sale in Sicily.[2] After a final stay in Treviso and then Venice from 1545 to 1549, the painter decamped one final time to the cities of Ancona and Loreto, where he died as a stipendiary of the great Marian sanctuary of the Santa Casa (Holy House) in 1557.

Although it is probable that Lotto regarded Venice as his home and even, despite long absences, as his base of operations, there are signs that his relation to the city was complicated, and not just because of personal vicissitudes.[3] It is noteworthy, for instance, that none of the many signatures on Lotto's works attests to his coming from Venice. In this respect he differs from a previous Venetian expatriate in the Marches, Carlo Crivelli, who publicized this fact by adding "Venetus" to his name, as did Antonio Solario, also active in the region, in 1514.[4] The signing practices of numerous artists from elsewhere confirm the sense of the Marches as an artistic crossroads.[5] The originless form of Lotto's signature suggests, as do his works and biography, that his identity was shaped by a nomadic career. We have seen, for instance, that Lotto's Colleoni altarpiece in Bergamo, completed by 1516, presents itself as the work of an artist "from" Rome as much as from Venice. In Bergamo in 1518 the painter Marcantonio Cattaneo di Casanigo contracted with Lotto to accompany the master "if said Lorenzo was obliged to visit or move to other places, whether towns or rural districts in the territory of Bergamo, or in Italy, or beyond Italy in areas of France or Germany."[6] In a detailed will drawn up in Venice in 1531, Lotto left bequests not only to colleagues in the city but also to artist-disciples in Bergamo, the Marches, and Dubrovnik: "all my drawings, models in wax and other figures, also reliefs of gesso, shall be divided in three equal parts according to above-mentioned experts for my three absent pupils, one being Francesco Bonetti painter in Bergamo, the other at Amendola in the Marches, master Giulio, painter, and the third in Ragusa master Piero the Venetian, painter."[7] In a later will he made similar bequests to Bonifacio de' Pitati of Verona and Girolamo da Santa Croce of Bergamo. Few artists so explicitly sought to extend their creative persona in time as well as in space through the formation of such a network, on which Venice—far from being a center—is one of multiple nodal points.

Equally, few artists have so much troubled the tidy taxonomies of an art history that traces styles to regions. Lotto's Venetian origins and training, although recorded in Vasari, were something that Berenson, in his pioneering monograph of 1895, had to go to some lengths to prove—against claims that Lotto's artistic origins were Lombard, or that he was trained in the orbit of Leonardo da Vinci.[8] It is crucial to recognize that Lotto's career corresponded with a general shift in what it meant to be a Venetian painter: Venetian art by the 1520s, in the hands of Titian, Palma il Vecchio, Bonifacio de' Pitati, and others, for all its virtuosity and popularity with collectors, was becoming a recognizable stylistic category. It was no longer—as it had been in the days of the Bellini, Mantegna, Antonello, and Dürer—a practice shaped by artistic encounter and assimilation, by the movement to and through the city of artists and works of art not only from across Italy and the Mediterranean but also from beyond the Alps.

Since Berenson, all of Lotto's early work has been analyzed in terms of the artist's Venetian forebears around 1500, with a routine name-checking of Vivarini, Bellini, and Cima de Conegliano. Yet the young Lotto's Venice was not only the city of Bellini and his famous pupils Giorgione and Titian, but also that of Lombards like Giovanni Agostino da Lodi, Girolamo da Santa Croce of Bergamo, Cristoforo Caselli of Parma, Andrea Solari, Francesco da Milano and Bernardino Luini from Milan, and Bartolomeo Veneto (a Venetian working in Ferrara and Milan); it also included individualistic *terraferma* artists like Bartolomeo Montagna from Vicenza, eclectic post-Mantegnesque printmakers like Giulio Campagnola, as well as Dürer and de' Barbari.[9] The artists of this Lombard-Venetian-Alpine circuit are unlikely to have held prescriptive ideas about how Venetian or Milanese painting ought to look, and still less would they have understood the modern art historical habit of weighing up the *venezianità* or Lombard "influences" in their work. When working in Rome about 1509, Lotto painted a *Penitent St. Jerome* (now in Castel Sant' Angelo) that employs a compositional procedure entirely characteristic of Campagnola and other printmakers and painters active in the Veneto around 1500: a figure adapted from contemporary art in Rome—in this case, Raphael's Diogenes in the *School of Athens*—is grafted into a wild landscape of rocks and tree trunks very close to Dürer's *Penance of St. John Chrysostom*.[10]

Ultimately Lotto, the most ambitious of the Venetian nomadic artists, and the most conversant with artistic communities outside the Veneto, represents the point where the transregional art of the Venice-Lombardy continuum began to appear anomalous (or perhaps even "foreign") in Venice itself. His later commissions in the city, some of them drawing on formats he had developed for works in other parts of Italy, had no resonance there, and the scant commentary they received was negative and uncomprehending.[11]

With Titian as the inevitable touchstone by the 1520s, Lotto's *St. Nicholas in Glory* for a confraternity altar in Santa Maria del Carmine in Venice (1527–29) seemed anomalous to contemporaries in that city, such as Ludovico Dolce, above all in its approach to color (fig. 4.1).[12] Like the artist's Bergamo altarpieces from the previous decade, *St. Nicholas in Glory* shows Lotto paying close attention to an array of contemporary artists across northern Italy and from beyond the Alps. As in the case of Cesare da Sesto, the grafting procedure is apparent in the final result. Lotto's painting registers his multiple engagements as an artist: with recent art in Rome, including Raphael's *Disputà* for the cloud-borne saints, as well as with Netherlandish and German art. As opposed to the practice of Titian (or Bellini and Cima before him), whose landscape settings sometimes evoke the *terraferma* and occasionally Venice itself, the background panorama is closely modeled on a recent work by the Dutch painter Jan van Scorel then in the collection of Francesco Zio.[13] Lotto's striking palette of crimson, orange, green, and purple in the draperies points away from the unified palette of Giorgionesque painting toward the *terraferma*, above all to the artists of the Lombard-Venetian circuit like the Bergamasco Jacopo Palma il Vecchio, whose career was largely centered in Venice and whose death in 1528 would have caused Lotto's painting to be more

isolated and idiosyncratic, or even foreign: this is undoubtedly why seventeenth-century writers like Carlo Ridolfi and Marco Boschini believed Lotto to be from Bergamo. An additional striking parallel is presented with the characteristic approach to color of an artist whom Lotto would have been aware of during his more than ten years' residence in that city (1513–26): the painter-sculptor Gaudenzio Ferrari (fig. 4.2).

Far from being recognized as a positive manifestation of artistic dialogue, since Ber-

4.1 Lorenzo Lotto, *St. Nicholas in Glory*. 1527–29. Oil on canvas, 335 × 188 cm. Venice, Santa Maria del Carmine. Photo credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY.

enson these artistic experiments have been seen as wayward individualism; "personality" interferes with a normalizing assimilation of influences. For some, Lotto has served as a point of "anticlassical" resistance to Rome and the mainstream Renaissance tradition, while an entire industry has arisen around speculation that Lotto's paintings, and his rebus-like designs for the intarsia choir stalls at Bergamo, speak a secret language of alchemy or of heresy. For others, Lotto's predilection is an obsolescent manifestation of an older approach to

4.2 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Nativity with a Donor*. c. 1525. Oil on wood, 148.6 × 111.8 cm. Sarasota, FL, Ringling Museum, SN41, bequest of John Ringling, 1936. Credit: Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Art Museum of Florida, Florida State University.

pictorial communication, eclipsed by Renaissance modernity and the "liberation" of art from textuality.[14] Frequently, Lotto's peripatetic career is taken to be symptomatic of an unsettled, restless temperament, fraught with the religious anxieties of the period. Unusual evidence, such as the elaborate confessional preamble to his 1546 will, or an account book the artist kept in the closing decade of his career, with allusions to troubled personal and professional circumstances, has been pressed into the service of such a view. Lotto was an artist of documented religiosity, attested by his confraternal activities in Venice, the charitable bequests in his wills, writings by Pietro Aretino and Vasari, some notes in an account book from his final years, as well as an inscription on the reverse of a small *Crucifixion* (Florence, Villa I Tatti) recording that the artist painted it in Holy Week out of personal devotion.[15] Certainly, Vasari considered the artist's withdrawal to the sanctuary of Loreto in 1554 the most distinctive event in his life, as the moralizing conclusion suggests: Lotto found serenity of mind at Loreto, "which might not have happened to him if at the end of his life he had been wrapped up too closely in the things of this world."[16]

Setting aside psychological explanations or spiritual autobiography, this chapter presents an approach to Lotto's paintings that recognizes their systematic, social, and location-specific role, which reconciled religious identity with community interests across an extensive region south of the Veneto. Between 1506 and 1546 a constellation of sites in the area—extending from Ancona southward to Fermo and from the mountain town of Cingoli eastward to Loreto on the coast—received an array of monumental religious paintings by Lotto; pupils like Durante Nobili and Simone de' Magistris and followers like Antonio da Faenza, drawing on Lotto's inventions, would render this concentration of images at once more expansive and more dense.

The region, which more or less corresponds with the province of the papal states known as the March of Ancona, had a particularly turbulent history, marked by tensions between the particularist interests and rivalry of urban communities and the broader geopolitical definition—whether ancient "Picenum," a province of the papal states since 1198, an unruly shifting association of rebel Ghibelline fiefdoms, or a contested sacred landscape of radical religious communities and enforcers of orthodoxy. (This conflict-ridden experience of the recent and the distant past is all registered, sometimes luridly, in Flavio Biondo's account of Picenum in his *Italia illustrata*). The region around Ancona, where Venetian political influence was strong, was a fragmented jurisdiction of fiercely independent trading cities, with a tradition of negotiated autonomy with the papacy, whose governor ruled from Macerata. At the same time, the people of the Marches could think of the region as centered not on any one of its administrative or commercial municipalities, but on a pivotal sacred heterotopia—the Santa Casa of Loreto, no less than the Virgin Mary's house, miraculously transported from Nazareth, the site of the incarnation of Christ. By 1500 the Santa Casa was drawing many thousands of pilgrims annually from across the Adriatic as well as from the Italian peninsula, north and south, with considerable benefit to the surrounding towns. By the 1530s Lotto's series of altarpieces can be seen to per-

form a community-building function both within and between urban centers; the series is thus conscious of itself as such, collectively and individually registering the proximity of Loreto and the idea of the region as a "sacred landscape."[17]

Lotto and Gaudenzio: Parallel Careers

Lotto and his fellow artist Gaudenzio Ferrari are almost exact contemporaries (Gaudenzio was born in the late 1470s, Lotto about 1480). In comparison to Lotto, Gaudenzio's identity is even more bound up with the production of place, the artistic generation of a heterotopic noncenter.[18] The two artists certainly knew each other's work and could even have met during the thirteen years (1513 to 1526) that Lotto spent in the Lombard city of Bergamo: Gaudenzio's workshop produced an altarpiece for the Dominicans at Sant'Alessandro della Croce in Bergamo in 1513–14, and Lotto appears clearly aware of what Gaudenzio did at the Sacro Monte of Varallo.[19] Much of the work by the two artists is in rural towns or sanctuaries; more important, they both were associated for many years with places that possessed a special distinction precisely because they were *not* cities: Lotto in and around the shrine of the Santa Casa of Loreto, Gaudenzio at the Sacro Monte of Varallo. Frontier sites of the sacred, set apart from urban areas, ever more important as the destination of pilgrims, and increasingly distinguished by monumental artistic commissions: Loreto and the Sacro Monte of Varallo were "centers" of a very particular kind, capable of organizing their surrounding territory—and even locations much farther afield—as a sacred landscape, the itinerary of pilgrims as well as of artists, merchants, and other travelers.

Working in these locations, both artists produced a highly distinctive and innovative religious art that is clearly aware of—while maintaining a distance from—the increasingly dominant workshops of the major centers where the artists also worked: Rome and Venice in Lotto's case, and for both Lotto and Gaudenzio, the Lombard capital of Milan. Conscious of their distance from the metropolises, their mode of engagement with Raphael, Titian, Leonardo, and others is distinct from the protocols of citation and imitation that became the norm in Rome and Venice from the second decade of the 1500s.

According to the Milanese painter-theorist Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, Gaudenzio was frequently heard to say that, unlike himself, "every painter likes to steal the inventions of others, but they thus run a great risk of being found out and taken for a thief."[20] The artist's geographic detachment here signals a withdrawal from artistic emulation and imitation. Lomazzo, as we will see, underestimated the degree to which Gaudenzio was responding to the art of his time. The perception of the unaffiliated stance of both Lotto and Gaudenzio has led to their being considered outsiders or provincials. With little obviously to do with art history's narratives of modernization, both artists are consigned—and not without signs of strain—to the so-called periphery. For Freedberg,

> there was no accord between the metropolitan ambience in which he learned and Lotto's temperament, introverted, pietistic, and unstable, and as the years went on [Lotto and

> Venice] became more divergent from each other. From the beginning of his career Lotto's more important works were undertaken for the provinces; then, the more his practice and actual residence became provincial, the more his difference from the culture of his native place increased.[21]

The same scholar was more sympathetic to Gaudenzio, although he regards his late move to Milan before 1539 as "hardly salutary" for its effects on his art, "for he sacrificed the imaginative and expressive liberty of one provincial style [that is, Saronno and Vercelli] to the much more pedestrian realist and illustrative mode that characterized another [Varallo]."[22]

From Varallo to Loreto: Landscapes of Pilgrimage

By 1493 (and possibly as early as 1486) the Observant Franciscans under Fra Bernardino Caimi had established a shrine of the Holy Sepulcher on a hill overlooking the small town of Varallo in the valley of the Sesia between Milan and Turin.[23] With support from the ruling Sforza dynasty of Milan, the site was developed to facilitate a surrogate enactment by the devout of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where the Observants had long been active as guides and ministers to pilgrims, and which Caimi had visited in 1478. By 1520 pilgrims could earn an indulgence equal to that obtained on an actual pilgrimage to the Holy City, but without the political and logistical impediments that greatly reduced the traffic to Jerusalem after 1453. The humanist and French royal ambassador Domenico Morone, who visited in 1507, reported the Franciscans' claim that "all these things had been made like the place of the real Sepulcher with the same proportions, the same architecture, and the same paintings and shapes. . . . This new and most pious work repeats everything." The original Jerusalem could only be visited now "with the greatest hardships and dangers," but so effective was the "Jerusalem" of Varallo that the pilgrimage—and, notably, even the pilgrimage to Rome—was no longer necessary: "Let cease henceforth those so-called Roman Stations; let end even the Jerusalem pilgrimage . . . by the very simplicity of the craft and the artless architecture, the ingenious site surpasses all antiquity."[24]

Morone's assertion that the Varallo pilgrimage should substitute not just for that to Jerusalem but for the pilgrimage to Rome itself is politically inflected hyperbole, but it discloses an important aspect of the appeal of such sacred destinations in the frontier: created *ex novo* and uncontaminated by the politics, commerce, and corruption of the papal city, the "model city" of the Sacro Monte, like the Marchigian shrine of Loreto, or the much longer established sanctuary of Monte Gargano in Puglia, was a far less worldly form of sacred heterotopia. By 1514, when the first guidebook to the Sacro Monte was produced, the focus on a re-created Jerusalem had given way to an expanded series of locations devoted to episodes in the life of Christ and the Virgin, from the Annunciation to the Assumption.[25] A few of these would already have included the spectacular combinations of polychrome sculpture, painting, and architecture that came to be the primary attraction at Varallo (fig. 4.3) and the most distinctive feature of a series of *sacri monti,* which would arise in the Italian Alps over the following century at Crea

(1589), Orta San Giulio (1590), Ghiffa (1591), Varese (1598), Arona (1614), Oropa (1617), and Domodossola (1657). Gaudenzio Ferrari may have exploited the mixed-media form to the fullest, but other artists—painter-sculptors of the De Donati and Scotto workshops—were active at the site before him. For its audience of pilgrims, the simulacrum effect of polychrome wood or terracotta enhanced with real hair and cloth could generate effects similar to actual visions: by the late 1490s miracles were being reported directly to Duke Lodovico Sforza. In one case a noble lady of Milan, Agnesa Burgonzo, was healed of an illness in the course of a dream vision that visited her before an image of the Assumption of the Virgin.[26] Although the report was careful to distinguish between the image and the vision, it is clear that the sacred is summoned into presence, made effective, through a degree of simulation that effaces as much as possible the distinction between art and life.

The earliest datable works by Gaudenzio at Varallo are the 1507 frescoes in the Scarognino Chapel in Santa Maria delle Grazie, the basilica at the foot of the hill where visitors began their pilgrimage. With their emulations of Bramante and Bramantino in the lofty architecture of *Christ in the Temple*, with the stamp of Leonardo's grotesque heads in the features of the

4.3 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Crucifixion* (Calvary Chapel). 1520–23. Varallo, Sacro Monte, Chapel 38. Credit: Mitchell Merback.

elders, these are the work of an accomplished and self-conscious artist: the decorations *alla grottesca* include a figure brandishing a tablet with an apparent injunction to rejoice, GAUDET, which reveals itself to be the artist's signature GAUDĒTi2.[27] The artist, by then in his late twenties, may already have been working at the site more than a decade earlier in the workshop of Stefano Scotto, whom Lomazzo considered to be his teacher.[28] The first wooden polychrome sculptures on the site were the *Lamentation* group by the Milanese workshop of Giovanni Pietro and Giovanni Ambrogio de' Donati, from about 1493, but it is difficult to identify the earliest three-dimensional works by Gaudenzio at Varallo, or even to date precisely the works that are clearly his, such as the *Annunciation* group (fig. 4.4) or the *Christ Led before Pilate* (fig. 4.5), both probably completed by 1510, but reinstalled in rebuilt and renovated environments after midcentury, against murals of the late cinquecento.[29] The high point of his production for the Sacro Monte, the great *Chapel of the Crucifixion* (or Calvary Chapel, fig. 4.3) appears to date between 1521 and 1528.[30]

While the Calvary Chapel housed some relics, early sources indicate that the holiness of Varallo was not centered on these, or on a miraculous image, or on a founding miracle attesting divine authorization, but on the devout motivations and performances of the pilgrims who went there from across northern Italy and down through the Alpine passes, drawn by the spectacular works of art. As noted above, the miracles came some years after the

4.4 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Annunciation*. Before 1510. Varallo, Sacro Monte, Chapel 2. Credit: Carlo Pozzoni.

foundation. The implication is that any place could be turned into a sacred destination—a position entirely consistent with the patristic and humanist critique of pilgrimage—and also that features of a landscape could determine its effectiveness.[31] "The pilgrims who visited Varallo," writes David Leatherbarrow, "had no illusions about the prior sanctity of the place. It was visited because pilgrimage was important." As he further observes, "the piety of the pilgrim's journey was important, as well as the attractiveness of his destination. Since the hill at Varallo had no special historical meaning, the themes of voluntary exile, self-imposed difficulty and wandering must serve as the starting point for an interpretation of the Sacro Monte."[32] In addition, after 1492 the global context had changed; the world's vastness could no longer be "centered" on Rome or Jerusalem.[33] The Sacro Monte at Varallo also indicates the interarticulation of a place's uniqueness with that of others, forming a network or system, the "primary object" in the chain of *sacri monti* that sprang up over the following century and a half throughout the region. Even as early as 1517, pilgrims were recorded extending their pious journey beyond Varallo to the shrine of Santa Maria del Monte above Varese.[34] Premised on the idea of movement and circulation, irrespective of political borders, the *sacri monti* formed a continuum that called political forms of territorialization into question.

Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood cite Varallo as an extreme instance of the "substitutional paradigm," whereby the structures

4.5 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Christ Led before Pilate.* 1512–20. Varallo, Sacro Monte, Chapel 20. Credit: Author photo.

constituting a site "were treated as if they could reproduce the efficacy of the original site [Jerusalem]," and as manifesting "the far end of the gamut of possible relationships between original and replica."[35] That which most forcibly authenticates the substitution is the papal indulgence, "a tangible corroboration of a strong, almost typological figuration." In their account the shrine at Loreto stands as a contrasting case. Here, "non-substitutionality was dramatized"—the *transplantation* of the Virgin's very house from Nazareth to Italy confirming that "there was no substitute for being there."[36]

These claims can be queried for two reasons. First, the indulgence was granted by Leo X only in February 1520, by which time Varallo was already well established as a pilgrimage destination and as a focus of patronage for Milanese and local elites.[37] Morone had already extolled Varallo's supremacy over Rome and Jerusalem in 1507, indicating that the pilgrimage was considered efficacious independently of indulgences. More important, the availability of the indulgence did not prevent a precipitate decline in visitation to and maintenance of the Sacro Monte between the 1520s and its revival several decades later under Archbishop Carlo Borromeo.[38] Finally, the description of the Sacro Monte in the 1514 pilgrims' guidebook indicates that "Jerusalem" was no longer the operative paradigm: the thirty sites or "mysteries" available to pilgrims show that the priority was now on the visualization of the evangelical narrative of Christ's life, Passion, and Resurrection, along with apocryphal and allegorical elements. That said, the order in which the visitor encountered the thirty "mysteries" followed neither a topomimetic nor a narrative logic.[39] Following the sites in narrative order would have involved a route of convoluted meanderings and doublings-back—such redundancy and "confusion" would be a principal target of the reorganization of the Monte in the 1560s.[40]

Clearly, there was more to both the Varallo and Loreto pilgrimages than just "being there" or the allure of the indulgence. *Getting* there was also valorized, as pilgrimage was reshaped around pious acts, performances, motivations—deliberately recast, as it seems, so as not to revolve completely around miracle images, relics, and holy matter.[41] What Nagel and Wood rightly describe as a "negative cultural pressure on the institution of pilgrimage" (a critique of its topocentric rather than its disciplinary aspect) also created a new basis for the institution of sacred landscapes, in their political, phenomenological, and aesthetic aspects.[42] Such innovations are symptomatic of a general renegotiation of the meaning of pilgrimage, already a long time in process, and one where Caimi's Observant Franciscans were a major agent of change. The efficacy of pilgrimage is located not in objects alone, but in the spatial-kinetic-experiential dimension of travel, prescribed motions at the site, and devotional address. Prescribed motions included visualization techniques, notably the imaginary witnessing of places and events in the Passion of Christ. Pilgrims to Jerusalem, under Franciscan supervision and spiritual direction, had long been acquainted with inner visualization. It was, after all, the principal means of "animating" the purported holy sites where little was now visible beyond rocks and rubble.[43]

The Sacro Monte is a culmination of a reshaping of pilgrimage around pious acts, phys-

ical performances, sacraments like the Eucharist, and inner motivations: a disciplinary practice closely linked to the forms of private prayer and individual meditation. The authenticity of pilgrimage was undoubtedly helped by indulgences, but the Observants in particular emphasized benefits finally independent of any authenticity claimed by saints' relics or miracle images. Megan Holmes has observed that the Franciscans, although highly active as promoters of pilgrimage, tended not to support cults of holy images and objects outside the order's headquarters at Assisi; however, they were more inclined to support Eucharistic cults centered on miraculous Hosts and the holy blood.[44]

Alessandro Nova, writing of the basilica of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo as a "theater for preaching," has even suggested that the mendicant sermon addressed to pilgrims was more important than the sacrament, which would have been withdrawn from the gaze or participation of the devout, behind the great preaching apparatus of Gaudenzio's painted choir screen.[45] That may be going too far. It is apparent that the deliberate lack of prominence accorded relics or miracle images conferred on the Eucharist the status of the crucial and *generative* holy object of the entire experience at Varallo. One of the four original (1493) chapels standing for the sepulcher of Christ, with the simulacrum of his dead body, was clearly a privileged site, but the centerpiece of the Sacro Monte was a sculptural ensemble by Gaudenzio consisting of a fountain with a statue of the resurrected Christ, the streams of water standing for his life-giving blood. The fountain group (a modern one replaces the lost original) signals that the holy object sanctifying the location is the Eucharist, and that the ultimate referent of all representational forms at Varallo—sculptures and paintings as well as processions and pious performances—is not "Jerusalem" but the sacrament.[46]

The Varallo program can thus be seen as revolving around and upholding the sacrament of the Eucharist, the supreme holy object ubiquitously available to the devout in every parish church. At the same time, the "mysteries" of the Sacro Monte afforded an exceptional experience of the Eucharist, now staged as the immanent authentication of a holy heterotopia, a "new Jerusalem." If the Eucharist in its everyday form provides spiritual benefit to the devout who revere it in their neighborhood church, how much more beneficial it will be if it is made the focus of a far more onerous and demanding spiritual discipline—a journey to an isolated mountain location. The Eucharist, of course, can be confected anywhere at any time by any priest following the proper formulas. It is as if, in its very mundaneness, it requires the kind of aura that can be activated by estrangement, heterotopic distancing, alienation from the everyday urban sphere, even what could be called rustication. The cult of the Eucharist is enhanced, given a dramatic and aesthetic force, turned into a spiritual discipline, through its alignment with the practice of pilgrimage. At the same time, pilgrimage itself and the desires that lie at its heart are redeemed by making the Eucharist its obtainable and consumable object of desire. The Eucharistic centerpiece of the *Christ Fountain* was retained in the remodeling of the Sacro Monte under Archbishop Carlo Borromeo. The role of the sacrament in holding the entire apparatus together ideologically led to the Sacro

Monte's departing, within three decades of its foundation, from the topomimetic relationship to Jerusalem to an episodic reenactment of the life of Christ. Correspondingly, none of the later *sacri monti* is organized according to topomimetic paradigms, but rather according to saints' lives (Orta, Arona) or to forms of prayer like the rosary (Varese). The faraway sacred site of Loreto is sometimes evoked at these Alpine sites, but the general impression is that these newly made holy places no longer needed legitimation through the mimetic or substitutional reproduction of other sacred centers.[47] What Jonathan Z. Smith observes of the *compositio loci* in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola could be said of Varallo after Borromeo: "All has been transferred to inner space. All that remains of Jerusalem is an image, the narrative, and the temporal sequence."[48]

The strategy of cult propagation thus appears to address a need to compensate for the ubiquity of the Eucharist by drawing on its power to generate sacred space. At the same time, a spectacular multisensorial "framing" of the Eucharist with architecture, painting, and sculpture "fixes" the sacrament at a unique point in space. The generation of pilgrimage sites in premodern Italy very frequently involved the sense of "fixing," of arresting motion, or of the permanent and immovable *trace* of a supernatural action. The most important pilgrimage sites to rise to prominence in fifteenth-century Italy (even though of older origin) were generated by images and objects *bound in place* and irremovable. The mural painting completed by an angel at SS. Annunziata in Florence; the miraculous Madonna painted on a prison wall re-embedded in the new basilica of Santa Maria delle Carceri in Prato; the hole on the site of St. Peter's crucifixion enshrined by Bramante's Tempietto at San Pietro in Montorio; the Madonna del Baraccano in Bologna: all these were—like the footprint of the archangel at San Michele in Gargano—the stable points and auratic centers of a world where towns routinely stole and relocated (and falsified) mobile objects like the Virgin's ring, tunic, girdle, and so forth, or where images moved, flew, or floated to proclaim their efficacy. The sanctuary of the Virgin of Macereto at Visso, not far from Loreto, owed its foundation to a miracle in which oxen transporting a polychrome sculpture of the Virgin toward Puglia stopped at the site and refused to haul the statue any farther. A very similar miracle involving the transport and "fixing in place" of an image gave rise to the cult of the Madonna of Cercina near Sesto Fiorentino in Tuscany.[49]

Like Varallo, the shrine at Loreto, the Santa Casa, constituted an opening onto the world, even a kind of opening in time and space, by appearing to transmit remote places and historical actions to a liminal Italian wilderness. In 1375 the absentee papacy at Avignon issued a bull conferring indulgences on the church where miracles worked by an image of the Virgin had been drawing throngs of pilgrims: the precise origins of the cult are obscure, but the belief was already current by the late fourteenth century that the image had been miraculously borne to its site by angels.[50] The earliest sources are ambiguous regarding the nature or medium of the cult image. A document of 1383 refers to a statue—and the present standing figure of the Virgin of Loreto is a modern replacement for a sculpture destroyed

by fire in 1921. However, in his *Virginis Mariae Loretae historia* (c. 1471), the Brescian cleric Giacomo Ricci refers to a statue housed in the original Santa Casa yet also describes "a sweet and beautiful small picture on panel, with a half-length seated figure of the Virgin, dark-complexioned but with rosy cheeks and long golden hair." Other early descriptions refer to an enthroned Virgin wearing a jeweled crown as a votive addition.[51]

The real transformation of Loreto from a local cult to a shrine of pan-European importance occurred after Constantinople fell in 1453. Papal interventions in the affairs of Loreto from the 1450s were justified by claims of special devotion by the pontiff in return for a miraculous cure (Pius II, Paul II) or by the enactment of a vow (as when Pius II honored the Virgin of Loreto on his way to embark at Ancona for his cherished crusade against the Ottomans), or to safeguard the considerable wealth of Loreto from the allegedly rapacious bishops of Recanati (Nicholas V in 1450), in this last and similar cases exploiting a power struggle between the commune and the diocese.[52] The decisive papal intervention was that of Paul II, who granted new indulgences in 1464 and 1471: revenues from the increased pilgrimage traffic were to support the building of a monumental basilica worthy of the shrine's international status. The geopolitical dimension seems unmistakable and will be treated further below, following some observations on the evolution of Loreto's character as a sacred landscape.

The Carmelite poet Baptista Mantuanus referred in 1467 to the crowds that thronged to the shrine of Loreto as well as to the nearby markets of Recanati, especially in September:

> Libra is returning, hastening to make night equal with day. The fields of Ancona leap for joy. The Adriatic bears Illyrian and Chaonian ships. With their wares appear Tuscans, Umbrians, Venetians, Sicilians and travel in bands with their offerings to visit that church at Loreto. And when on its lofty hill they have fulfilled their vows, they direct their course to the market places with joy in their hearts.[53]

Even the papacy had to acknowledge the interdependence of the fair and the shrine. Leo X in the bull of 1519, *Gloriosissime semperque Virginis*, characterized it as a providential enhancement of the volume of pilgrimage traffic: "The fairs were instituted to the honor and glory of the most holy Virgin mother of God, so that with greater facility the faithful might congregate at the church of Santa Maria di Loreto to pray and offer their vows."[54]

By 1471, at the moment of crisis when the new papacy of Sixtus IV showed itself likely to be equally favorable to a rival miraculous image cult in Ancona and to authorize a market held during the Feast of the Assumption that would have undermined Recanati's, a more spectacular distinction was being claimed for the holy site of Loreto. A history of the shrine's origins and its notable miracles composed by its rector, Pietro di Giorgio Tolomei, known as "Il Teramano," asserted that the primitive foundationless church sheltering the image was nothing less than the Virgin Mary's own house, the original setting for the Annunciation and Christ's infancy.[55] Teramano described its angelic transport from Nazareth to Illyria, then to various locations on the Adriatic coast of Italy before settling on common land at Loreto

in the territory of Recanati. The new legend spread rapidly. Another official Latin account was the above-mentioned *Virginis Mariae Loretae historia* by Giacomo Ricci, whom Giorgio Cracco sees as representing a more Rome-centered perspective, identifying Loreto not as a local shrine but as a "center" of the Universal Church. In Ricci's view, the sensational distinction set Loreto definitively above all other image-based cults: it was as if Nazareth itself had come west, not only retreating from infidels but situating itself apotropaically against the ever-encroaching danger from the East. Few people now would brave the dangers of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, since the eastern boundary of Italy had itself been turned into *Terra Santa*.

Yet what motivated the Santa Casa to touch down in this particular territory, on the western edge of the papal state and closer to Recanati than to Ancona? For Ricci, the geographic significance of the site chosen by the Virgin was first of all jurisdictional and political: the location beyond the walls of Recanati, on common ground rather than private land, signified the shrine's independence from local proprietorship.[56]

In the 1550s the Dominican inquisitor and geographer Leandro Alberti also appears preoccupied with establishing a purposive and providential dimension to the house's appearance in this particular area. He points out that at this very site, in ancient times, there had been a "magnificent and much revered" temple of Juno, the Roman queen of heaven.[57] In other words, as the cult developed, nothing about the Santa Casa's presence in an otherwise obscure location could be seen as lacking in significance or unprepared for. Providentially, the place had its momentous character *before* this was defined and made explicit by the shrine itself. So, too, with regard to Varallo: even though the site had, in Leatherbarrow's words, "no special historical meaning," its founder, Caimi, claimed that his choice of the site was motivated by his own ecstatic recognition of topographical resemblances to the original Jerusalem. A rock above Varallo was split in the same manner as the ground at Calvary outside Jerusalem; he discovered a spring and a monolith exactly resembling the one covering the sepulcher of Christ.[58]

Both Loreto and Varallo, then, were believed to have their sacrality auspiciously inscribed in their very *landscapes*. This gives them a common basis as holy places, beyond foundational miracles or the presence of holy objects and relics (a relatively minor feature of Varallo), or the claim to substitute for an original but largely inaccessible holy site. The spatial practices associated with the Loreto pilgrimage extended well into this surrounding landscape. Some pilgrims visited the locations in the vicinity where the Santa Casa was believed to have alighted before finally coming to rest, a few of which had developed cults of their own.[59] Devotional literature aimed at pilgrims encouraged them to prolong their initial zeal by meditating on the scenery of the roads that bore them toward the shrine:

> Let them strive to keep up the fervor, the spiritual appetite, with which they left home, raising up your mind to God several times a day. And try to draw fruitfully from the things you encounter on the road, with due consideration, and this can be done in this way: let the flowers, and the other

> beautiful things, which we see throughout the fields, cause you to remember the beauty and the happiness of heaven. The birds that are heard singing, let them bring to memory the most sweet songs of the angels. The springs, and all the other things, that afford restoring rest, shall cause them to think of the delights of the glory in which is to be found the fulfillment of every good. And when encountering the deep and precipitous valleys, the lakes, and other disagreeable and fearful things, let them be reminded of the punishments of Hell and the innumerable punishments, earned by the most fleeting of delights, which the damned have to suffer for all eternity.[60]

As observed above, it is as if the very mobility and dispersability, even the miraculous volatility, of the sacred, in the materialized form of icons, relics, and preeminently the Eucharist, created a parallel desire for permanent emplacement, for the object of the pilgrims' quest to be sedimented in the landscape—a desire answered by both Varallo and Loreto. Just such an imperative transformed the cult of a miraculous Madonna at Loreto, propagated not simply by an image but by a miraculous flying house that set itself to rest in a wilderness location in the Marches. This extra dimension of the miraculous gave Loreto the edge over, for instance, the Virgin of SS. Annunziata at Florence, its chief rival as the most prominent Marian sanctuary in all of Italy, and the older cult of San Michele in Gargano, which shrank to largely local significance. Nagel and Wood claim that the "original" image and the house relic (along with its sixteenth-century carved marble container by Andrea Sansovino and others) create an ambiguity of devotional focus at the sacred site: "It is hard to say today what the key image there might have been. Loreto is a complex nesting of frames where no-one is ever clear about what is being framed."[61] This ambiguity is compounded, as we have seen, because accounts record a cult image in painted as well as sculptural form. What is finally framed is not the sacred image, or the Santa Casa, or its High Renaissance *ornamento*, but a paradigmatic sacred space or spatial icon that—just as at Varallo in its original form—could be reproduced and transposed elsewhere by *artistic* means. Art is not now the *medium* or channel of the sacred; it serves as its frame or container; it creates the place by marking and populating space. The devotee at one of the multiple "reproduction" Loreto chapels that arose throughout Italy and Europe obtains grace by reiterating the spatial practice of pilgrims to and at the original Loreto and not by seeking out an original set of holy objects.[62] These reiterations preserve a spatial idea, not one founded on relics or material continuity with the original site, which they scarcely even resemble.[63] Varallo, for its part, signals the rising authority of mimetic representation by recognized painters and sculptors to generate the holy, to a degree that the principle of "substitution" (always backward-looking, a "medieval" recursiveness) does not adequately address. If the "substitutional" paradigm is at all operative in the 1500s, it is thanks to a representational efficacy grounded in the phenomenological, the rhetorical, and the aesthetic.

By 1516 the sacred landscape of the Sacro Monte of Varallo and its surroundings included iterations of the shrine of Loreto in two artistic "translations" by Gaudenzio Ferrari—

one on the hill itself, and the other nearby in the chapel of the Madonna of Loreto at Roccapietra, one of the earliest surviving Loreto "reproductions" (fig. 4.6). (Loreto would also be incorporated in the pilgrimage itineraries of the later Counter-Reformation *sacri monti* at Arona, Varese, and Domodossola.)[64] Pietro Galloni, the pioneering modern historian of the Sacro Monte, pointed in 1914 to the antiquity of the Roccapietra Chapel and its apparently pre-Gaudenzian terracotta sculpture of the Madonna del Latte from before 1500.[65] He cited nineteenth-century attestations that the Loreto cult was already propagated here *before* the development of the Sacro Monte, and that the chapel had been founded on the site of an ancient temple of Phoebus, to whom the surrounding woodland was also sacred.[66]

Beyond their emulative dimension, where pilgrimage sites sought to supersede local rivals, an interreferential character inheres in sacred landscapes: Varallo reiterates Loreto, and both recapitulate and in different ways reinvent much older instances of raised ground in the wilderness as a sacred destination. A survey of testaments from the Marches before 1527 shows that individuals who provided in their wills for posthumous pilgrimages on their behalf to Loreto tended to make equal provision for other destinations. Normally this was Rome, but in a surprising number of cases the second pilgrimage was to be made to the ancient sanctuary of St. Michael at Gargano in Puglia, another mountaintop "frontier" site facing the eastern Mediterranean and one associated especially by the mid-fifteenth cen-

4.6 Gaudenzio Ferrari, Architecture and frescoes, Chapel of the Madonna of Loreto. 1514–18. Roccapietra (Varallo). Credit: Author photo.

tury with the cause of crusade (we have seen its evocation at Bessarion's chapel in Santi Apostoli). For Italian testators, Gargano as cobeneficiary with Loreto outstripped other destinations, such as the shrines of St. James of Compostela, St. Anthony of Vienne, St. Nicholas at Tolentino, or even Assisi.[67] Yet after the 1460s the bequests to send pilgrims to Gargano decrease dramatically, probably indicating an increased confidence in the authority and efficacy of Loreto alone.[68]

Sacred landscape stands in an ambiguous relation with geopolitical definitions of territory, and therein lies its heterotopic force. So, too, with Loreto: if the Virgin's re-siting of her own dwelling there did more than just honor an area in the Marches, was she thereby honoring "Italy," or "Western Christendom," or was she affirming a Universal Church that claimed dominion over both? Loreto's position made it a fulcrum of the Holy See's programmatic consolidation of the papal state, in an area where the memory of imperial influence lingered and where the hold of warlord dynasties was progressively being broken.[69] Thus, the grant of an indulgence by Paul II in 1470 was supported by the communal government of Recanati, which also promoted the pope's initiative to rebuild the church in monumental form, even while it was clear that this entailed the effective annexation of the increasingly wealthy shrine to the metropolis on the Tiber. While all of these papal benefits were good for pilgrimage traffic and hence for trade, the commune found itself increasingly dependent on the papacy as jurisdiction over its own satellite gradually slipped from its hands. This became apparent when Sixtus IV seemed disposed to recognize the rival cult and fair at Ancona, or when the same pope on November 26, 1476, abruptly removed Loreto from the jurisdiction of the diocese of Recanati, transferring it directly to the Holy See. These rights were restored the following February after both the local clergy and the commune protested.[70]

The massive campaign of rebuilding and fortification at the site signaled that Loreto was increasingly being defined as an outpost of Rome: pilgrims to the Holy City arriving on the Via Flaminia from the north or by sea via Ancona first encountered "Rome" through its geographic incorporation of "Nazareth." At the same time, a series of polities had parallel and conflicting investments in the fact that Loreto was *not* Rome or that it was Rome's heterotopic Other: the papacy itself, the communes of the Marches, and various Italian princes frequently at odds with the papacy, including the Malatesta of Rimini, the Varano of Camerino, the Sforza of Milan and Pesaro, the Este of Ferrara, and the Bentivoglio of Bologna. Duke Filippo Maria Visconti attempted to endow a chapel with a sumptuous image of the Adoration of the Magi in 1429, while records of visits to the shrine by members of the Malatesta and Sforza families in the 1430s coincide with attempts by Francesco and Alessandro Sforza to dominate the Marches.[71] Regional Loreto cults were propagated in Brescia, Bergamo, and Venice, the last-named constantly seeking to maintain its foothold in the Adriatic region.

Depending on one's perspective, Loreto as a sacred destination was less an outpost of Rome than an alternative to Rome. The splendid retinues from the kingdom of Naples, Lombardy, the Po Valley, and elsewhere were a regular sight at Loreto and on the Via Flaminia from the mid-fifteenth century onward; pilgrimage

duties could be accomplished along with acts of political theater, and without the protocols or risks to either party of entering the papal city. (For instance, after a period of enmity, King Alfonso of Naples and Pope Eugenius IV in 1443 formed an alliance against Sforza expansion in the Marches, and Alfonso made a formal pilgrimage to Loreto, but not to Rome. From the pope's point of view, it would not do to have Alfonso, who entered Naples as *triumphator* the same year, appear in Rome as a conquering Caesar.) Princes, condottieri, and imperial sympathizers sought to make their mark as donors and supplicants around the rustic shrine in the Marches, not least, perhaps, because it represented a purer frontier alternative to the notorious venality of Rome. In 1489, at the peak of hostilities between the papacy and Naples, Alfonso II of Aragon donated a silver votive portrait to the Santa Casa.[72] Baptista Mantuanus, the Carmelite poet whose fulsome praise of Loreto was quoted above, in the same book of eclogues denounced the vicious and predatory culture of the papal court.[73]

The traffic to and from the South effectively extended the Loretan sacred landscape to other regions, connecting distant places to the shrine in the Marches. Such links provided an alternative to the official cartography of the sacred landscape centered on the Via Lauretana and the link to Rome. Not every Loreto pilgrimage route began or ended in the papal city. Clearly, for many southbound travelers on the Via Flaminia, Loreto was part of a dual pilgrimage destination, with Rome as its climax, but many of the secondary Italian pilgrimage routes—extending from Loreto toward Tuscany, or toward the Abruzzi and the South, did not include Rome. Some itineraries followed the seasonal practice of pastoral transhumance—the seasonal movement of livestock—through the Monti Sibillini toward Spoleto, Norcia, or even farther south to Atri.

Holding Rome at a Distance: Lotto's Loreto Network

Local cults and shrines (as well as markets) were invigorated by the pilgrimage traffic, even as the towns maintained formal and ritualized relations with the great Marian shrine.[74] Images of the Virgin of Loreto abounded on the various pilgrimage routes, with tributary cults of the Virgin springing up by the 1400s: these included the sanctuary of the Virgin of Macereto at Visso (also linked to an important annual fair) and the cult of the Madonna d'Alto Mare at Atri, based on a legend that the Santa Casa paused there on the way to Loreto.[75] A relatively consistent iconography of the Santa Casa permeated these paths to the shrine, reinforcing an extended and dynamic sense of place generated by the constant traffic through the region, and drawing it together around the increasingly prestigious and magnificently appointed basilica.

In this region and elsewhere, prominent commissions to nonlocal artists had often served a balancing of interests, at once securing the distinct identity of a location or municipality while stressing its relation to places of greater authority and importance: Crivelli's great *Annunciation* for Ascoli, a celebration of the liberties that came with submission to papal authority (Ascoli would tolerate the arrangement for barely thirty years), is a well-known example.[76] Painted over a span of four decades, Lotto's altarpieces for the Marches

can be seen to register a new dynamic of tension or contestation in this balance of interests, one that transformed how the local municipalities interacted with what had now become a papal shrine.

While in the fifteenth century the shrine was commonly referred to as "Sancta Maria de Rachaneto," by 1507 Recanati's privileged relation to Loreto came to an end; on October 21 Julius II declared Loreto a pontifical chapel, rendering it directly subject to the Holy See. Although Loreto would be restored to the communal governance of Recanati in 1535, the magnificent development of the basilica complex begun under the direction of Bramante in 1509 proclaimed its unambiguous status as a pontifical chapel. The massive fortifications of the site, commenced under Antonio da Sangallo the Younger in 1518, gave Loreto something of an urban character, although the community would not acquire metropolitan status, or become a diocesan seat, until 1586.

The year before the transfer to papal authority, the Dominicans of Recanati commissioned an altarpiece from Lotto for their church on the town's main piazza, a work clearly understood from the outset to have a broader municipal significance (fig. 4.7). Lotto's employment is first recorded in the *Libro delle riformanze* of the commune itself, in which on June 17, 1506, it is written that he had received the commission on the basis of a drawing he had submitted and that the new work should be "much better even than the works of his adolescence and first manhood with which they were already acquainted."[77] The commune shared the costs of the altarpiece with the Dominicans, stipulating that in return the town's two patron saints, Flaviano and Vito ("sanctum Flavianum et sanctum Vitum advocatos nostros"), should be included. Recanati's patron protectors and Dominican saints appear overhead and in the side panels (St. Flavian, to the Virgin's right, wears the signet ring of the current bishop, Teseo de Cuppis). In the center, the Dominican founder—shown with portrait-like features—receives the scapular from the hands of the Virgin herself, a large key prominently displayed at his side. Two popes flank the Virgin's throne. Most scholars accept Vasari's identification of these as Urban V, the first pope to visit the shrine at Loreto, and Gregory XII, who had donated an important relic of St. Flavian to Recanati and who had served as bishop of Recanati and Macerata following his abdication in 1415.[78]

Recanati's now-precarious relation to its famous satellite shrine was originally signaled much more explicitly. Vasari, who says more about this altarpiece than about any other painting by Lotto, particularly admired the predella, which originally included a now-lost depiction of the Translation of the Santa Casa.[79] Moreover, as propaganda for the Dominicans' privileged relation with the Virgin, the imagery acquired a special charge, given the proximity of what had become the world's preeminent Marian pilgrimage site. We may also infer that the Dominicans were, on that basis, claiming another, more terrestrially oriented mediating role: it is they who sustain an ongoing connection between Recanati, the papacy, and the shrine of Loreto (in fact, the Dominican prior acted as an advocate for Recanati and the retention of its prerogatives).[80] Lotto's altarpiece thus proposes a careful rebalancing of civic with congregational and papal interests: the vector of power linking Rome to

4.7 Lorenzo Lotto, *Recanati Polyptych*. 1508. On panel, 227 × 108 cm (center); 155 × 67 cm (sides, lower); 67 × 67 cm (sides, upper); 80 × 108 cm (cimasa). Recanati, Pinacoteca civica. Credit: © Sailko / Wikimedia Commons. CC BY 3.0: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode.

Loreto is implicitly triangulated to include Recanati's older claim, founded on the approval of past popes and the spiritual merits of its religious houses.

What—if anything—might the design, the format, or even the style of the Recanati polyptych have meant to its spectators after 1506? A conventional account would stress the prestige of Venetian art in the region and the continuity between the polyptych and Lotto's earlier altarpiece for Tiverone near Treviso, from 1504–6. Undoubtedly, although much in the altarpiece can be accounted for by Lotto's artistic training in Venice and the city's cosmopolitan artistic culture, the composition resembles no recent work of Venetian painting. The Recanatese may have been satisfied that they had obtained a work by a famous master from Venice, yet the work demands to be seen in much broader terms.

It is usually pointed out that the polyptych form with the Virgin and saints in an architectural setting—especially the combination of a barrel vault with gold mosaic—evokes the late fifteenth-century altarpieces of Giovanni Bellini, such as the triptych for the Frari of 1488 and the single-panel altarpiece (*pala*) for San Giobbe of 1487. It is also acknowledged that the physiognomies and doleful expressions of the Virgin and saints, and elements of the composition of the Pietà are responses to the presence in Venice of Albrecht Dürer, reflecting Lotto's close attention to the German's *Virgin of the Rose Garlands* recently installed at San Bartolomeo in that city, while the large, expressive hands and heads in the Pietà are strikingly close to the Nuremberg artist's 1506 *Christ in the Temple* (Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza).[81]

More is at stake, however, than the transmission of authoritative artistic models from the Veneto. It is frequently asserted that the polyptych was a "conservative" format by 1506 and one typically favored by provincial clients. More conservative than what, one wonders? Supposedly, more conservative than the unified, single-panel altarpiece or *pala*. However, the *pala* was a routine format that had been employed by local artists in the Marches for three decades, including several examples by Crivelli and his follower Lorenzo d'Alessandro from the 1480s and 1490s, and numerous instances around the turn of the century by Perugino, Antonio Solario, Palmezzano, Signorelli, and many others.[82] Minor painters in small towns were producing *pale* when Lotto worked for Recanati, among them Pietro Paolo Agabiti in 1502 for San Rocco in Jesi and Giovanni Presuti at Campofilone near Fermo in 1506.[83]

On the one hand, *retardataire* taste or archaizing motivations seem insufficient as an explanation. On the other, the polyptych format facilitated visual argument, the coordination of an array of community interests (civic, individual, ecclesiastical), and the hierarchical demarcation of objects of devotion, of worldly and otherworldly spheres. In any case, Lotto's approach to the polyptych is not in any sense traditional. Most unusual is his placing of the figures in a deep architectural space; the expanse of tiled floor between the edge of the frame and the Virgin's throne receives far more direct illumination than the figures beyond it.

Lotto's thinking about the polyptych manifests again his geographically encompassing approach. The polyptych was a still vital and even experimental format in the cities of Lom-

4.8 Cristoforo Caselli, *St. Louis of Toulouse, St. Francis and the Blessed John Capistrano*. c. 1495–1500. On panel. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. Credit: The Walters Art Museum.

bardy. Examples include Perugino's triptych for the Certosa di Pavia, those from the workshops of Vincenzo Foppa at Milan or Brescia, of Cristoforo Caselli in Parma (fig. 4.8), of the Milanese Bernardo Zenale and Bartolomeo Butinone, and of Gaudenzio Ferrari in territories to the west. Demand was particularly high in the region of Bergamo.[84] In terms of spatial qualities and architectural elaboration, and to some extent in terms of the characterization of the saints, the closest contemporary analogue for Lotto's Recanati altarpiece is Bartolomeo Montagna's now-fragmented polyptych of 1490–95 for Santi Nazaro e Celso in Verona, itself a response to Mantegna's great altarpiece for San Zeno in the same city (fig. 4.9).[85]

4.9 Bartolomeo Montagna, Fragments of a polyptych. 1500–1504. Verona, SS. Nazaro e Celso. Credit: Archivio Fotografico, Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Verona, Rovigo e Vicenza.

The most distinctively non-Venetian aspect of Lotto's altarpiece lies in its staging of an event: the Virgin's conferring of the scapular on St. Dominic. The interaction of an enthroned saint with a kneeling devotee is not characteristic of Venice, but it has abundant precedents in the Marches and Lombardy.[86] In Mantegna's *Virgin of the Victories* in Mantua from 1496 (fig. 2.6), the Virgin signals her protection of the condottiere prince Francesco Gonzaga by inclining toward him and extending her right hand; the Virgin's protective gesture and blessing child in Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks* were adapted by Bernardino Zenale and the Master of the Pala Sforzesca around the same time to animate the interaction of sacred figures with donors.[87] With Lotto this gesture of the Virgin creates the sense of an underlying structure that controls and organizes movement in the responsive bodies of the other figures in the central panel. As the Virgin reaches down to pass the scapular to the solemn angel who prepares to place it on the shoulders of St. Dominic (possibly the donor portrait of the Dominican prior), an infant angel musician, suddenly distracted from his performing, silences his companion.[88] The asymmetry creates a new balance: the scapular of St. Dominic establishes an emphatic diagonal against the prevailing verticals, reinforced by the stretching and leaning body of the anxious putto-musician beneath the throne.

The altarpiece seems to look north and west, and here Lotto's patrons may have played a role. The documents for the commission establish the involvement of the Lombard theologian Giovan Domenico da Alessandria, master lector of the *studium*, who in 1507–8 returned to Lombardy to serve as rector of the *studium* in Milan.[89] Lotto's transregional approach resonates in this location, engaging local concerns while also addressing the stream of travelers from the Po Valley and the North: it links the city with the Via Flaminia, along which came not just emperors and counts or the great nobles and condottieri of Lombardy and Emilia but also merchants destined for the great annual fair in Recanati itself, including such future patrons of Lotto as the Marchetti, the Tassi (one of whom would become bishop of Recanati in 1516), and the Casali, all from Bergamo. Confronted with a polyptych that would have answered or surpassed their criteria of good craftsmanship in a recent style, these men must have been the authors of reports that brought Lotto to Bergamo itself in 1513; already in 1512 Lotto was receiving payments from Mantua at the behest of Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga.[90]

Subsequent works for the Marches were executed after an episode of possibly little more than a year (1509–10), when Lotto worked in the Vatican. Little is known of his activity there beyond documents of payments from 1509 and 1514, as well a few convincingly argued attributions among the frescoes of the Stanze of Julius II, following designs by Raphael.[91] The experience of working alongside the painter from Urbino seems to have had little immediate impact on Lotto's painting. Few have asked, though, what the ever-prehensile Raphael might have absorbed or appropriated from a well-traveled and probably older painter. Could Raphael have had some knowledge of Lotto's recent work in northern Italy, especially the visionary *Virgin in Glory with St. Anthony Abbot and St. Louis of Toulouse*, com-

pleted in 1506 for the Oratorio di Santa Caterina in Asolo (fig. 4.10)?[92] Raphael, of course, is unlikely to have seen the Asolo painting in person, but since Lotto clearly kept records of his compositions, from which replicas and later variants were produced, it could be argued that Raphael's most famous altarpiece, the *Sistine Madonna* painted for Piacenza in 1512, owes something to Lotto's invention (fig. 4.11). Common to both are the golden light around the Virgin and the rapturous saints on either side; in each altarpiece one of these is elderly, bearded, and in profile, and with a foreshortened right arm—which in Raphael's case gestures toward the beholder. The bold accents of green of the flanking trees are supplanted in Raphael by the green curtains that intensify the effects of presence and of address to the viewer. Raphael's cloud-borne Virgin is radically different in her striding contrapposto

4.10 Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin in Glory with St. Anthony Abbot and St. Louis of Toulouse*. 1506. On panel, 175 × 162 cm. Asolo, Duomo. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

4.11 Raphael, *Sistine Madonna*. 1512. Oil on canvas, 269.5 × 301 cm. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister / Elke Estel / Hans-Peter Klut / Art Resource, NY.

from Lotto's austerely rigid figure, yet suggesting a process of dialogue and revision of the Venetian painter's work.

If these works represent a degree of closeness between Lotto and Raphael, in subsequent works it appears that the Venetian seeks to magnify the differences that the pairing also throws into relief. In 1511–12 Lotto produced an altarpiece of the *Transfiguration* for the church of Santa Maria di Castelnuovo outside Recanati (fig. 4.12).[93] The style of this work is radically different from that of the altarpieces for Asolo and Recanati: disturbingly, for some, the *Transfiguration* gives little sign that the artist had been working immediately beforehand in Rome, and at the side of Raphael in

the Stanze of Julius II. Here as in the Recanati altarpiece, Lotto's treatment of the human figure demonstrates his increasing absorption in Dürer's prints, yet Dürer alone cannot account for the assertive triangular symmetry that organizes the picture as a whole, a formation that seems almost fractally extended through individual figures and groups, and which appears to originate in the face of Christ. The approach seems like a complete turning away from Raphael's approach to symmetry—in, say, the 1511 *Madonna of Foligno* (Vatican) where a sense of variety within overall unity and balance is maintained by contrapposto.[94] While in the *School of Athens* and *Parnassus* Raphael kept verbal tags and labels to a minimum—the figures are to be identified by their physiognomic and gestural embodiment of a historical character—Lotto has supplied the name of each participant in golden majuscules, along with the scriptural text, "Hic est filius meus dilectus" (Matt. 17:5; Mark 9:2–10), in a ray of light over Christ's head. The behest of patrons aside, the embedding of words in images will be a major preoccupation of Lotto's painting from this point onward: even here, it may have an iconographic or hermeneutical significance. In the redundancy of the doubling of verbal and pictorial signs, the enunciation/presentation of Christ's revealed nature contrasts with the lexical opacity of the Law of Moses, here presented obliquely, and perpendicular to the golden words in Latin, on the ground by the feet of the patriarch. The Transfiguration is a rare sacred moment (and a rare moment in Lotto's painting) where *logos* and being are revealed to be one and the same.[95]

The 1512 *Entombment* for the Confraternity of the Buon Gesù in San Floriano at Jesi carries this nexus of concerns—embodied as opposed to inscribed meaning, the displacement of contrapposto by a kind of convulsive disposition of the body, and a sense of negative definition by the art of Raphael—even further (fig. 4.13). The Jesi altarpiece is clearly informed

4.12 Lorenzo Lotto, *Transfiguration*. 1512. On panel, 300 × 203 cm. Recanati, Pinacoteca civica. Credit: Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

by knowledge of Raphael's *Entombment* for Perugia (midway between Rome and Jesi), which Lotto could have seen *in situ* or in the form of a replica in the Roman studio (fig. 4.14). While clearly making reference to Raphael's composition, here he works in an oppositional idiom that rejects the *grazia* and Vitruvian proportion of his contemporary, or even his own earlier elaborate but architectonically solid pictorial constructions for Recanati and Tiverone.

4.13 Lorenzo Lotto, *Entombment of Christ*. 1512. Oil on panel, 298 × 197 cm. Jesi, Pinacoteca civica. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

The commission had originally been given in 1508 to Signorelli, who may have recommended its transfer to Lotto.[96] While it would seem unlikely that the commissioners would have motivated Lotto to produce something so anti-Raphaelesque, it is possible that he sought to satisfy an emerging receptivity to the work of Dürer, especially the Nuremberg master's Passion subjects. Jesi's historical memory embraced a Germanic orientation, as birthplace of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II and shrine of the German martyr St. Florian.

The confraternity specified the inclusion of the IHS monogram borne by angels, originally rendered by Lotto in Greek characters, IHΣ. The Jesus monogram of the Friars Minor has clear civic ramifications: in honoring the Italian town in whose main piazza he had been born, the emperor Frederick II had remarked on the affinity of the names Jesi and Jesus.[97] The Buon Gesù thus turned its icon into an image of the commune as well as of their spiritual brotherhood and its hospital.

Lotto's *Entombment* has a frenetic quality; figures glower, gesticulate, pull hair, or clutch Christ's winding sheet in their teeth. Raphael's well-wrought composition had been a textbook example of creative imitation, designed to make clear its links to Mantegna, Michelangelo, and ancient Roman relief.[98] Its principle of organization could be described as polyphonic, with multiple contrapposti contributing to

4.14 Raphael, *Entombment of Christ*. 1507. Oil on panel, 184 × 176 cm. Rome, Galleria Borghese. Credit: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attiviti Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

a stable compositional order appropriate for liturgical images. In Lotto's response, such fluid motion is replaced by figures who seem collectively braced by abstract lines and parabolas, forced into an oppressive repetition of descending and interlocking curves: a woman's pulled hair, the Virgin's arms, the body of Christ, the winding sheet. Also to be observed, once again, is the striking prominence of words in the altarpiece. The contractual obligation to include the verbal icon of the name of Christ seems to have triggered something in Lotto, who was already tending, in some of his earlier works for Treviso, to enigmatic images with a rebus-like or diagrammatic character (we might think, for instance, of his allegorical portrait cover in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC). Christ appears on an axial alignment of two inscriptions: the transcendent and immortal name of Christ, itself a verbal icon charged with a miraculous efficacy resembling that of the Eucharist, and far more than just a name or word; and the *titulus* bearing the letters INRI, now itself "deposed" from the cross and turned on its side. There is a clear play here between the idea of "living" words and "dead" words. On the tomb, in a trajectory intersecting that of the *titulus*, appears Lotto's own name. Above, to the left, the Magdalene fingers a diaphanous veil with a lettered border: "magd [. . .] en–eor [. . .] su [. . .]i [. . .] no." Language in her hands is a veil, a woven fabric (*textus*) that even while it possesses transparency has become mysterious. Christ's body, designated in her eyes by the "dead" inscription INRI, is a referent without a meaning: its divine nature as living Word—radiantly proclaimed by the IHS—is not yet apparent to the mourners. The Word has a double reference that they do not yet grasp. On the one hand, it is Christ's very human corporeal nature, which fulfills the work of redemption, but, on the other, it is also his eternal divinity proclaimed but not observed in the apotheosis above.

Instruments of the Passion are strewn before the sepulcher, incipiently hieroglyphic in their deliberate arrangement and anticipating the blazons of objects (instruments of writing, handcraft, and so on) that would appear a decade later in the allegorical intarsias—visual enigmas concealing historical scenes from the Old Testament—that Lotto designed for Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo. Such intertwining of word and image, exploiting their tension in theological terms, is quite distinct from the optimistic coexistence of *pictura* and *poesis* professed in these years by Raphael, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Titian. Lotto presents a counterposition of mediating signs, requiring and often frustrating discernment, veiling a series of inner scenes from scripture, but also deciphering them in the form of a moralizing device. The Bergamo intarsias insinuate, in the face of contemporary evangelical and reformist claims to the contrary, that the text of scripture is not transparent and never literal: it always requires the discernment of a mystery.[99]

In 1534 Lotto produced his famous altarpiece of the *Annunciation* for Recanati (fig. 4.15), perhaps the sole work in the series of altarpieces to engage explicitly with a recent work of art at the Santa Casa—the *ornamento*, or marble shrine, of the Virgin's house, carved by a team of leading sculptors from Rome and Florence.[100] Some of its most distinctive elements—the Virgin surprised at her lec-

tern, the genuflecting angel with the lily, the cloud-borne figure of God the Father with right hand extended, the cat—are found in Andrea Sansovino's relief (1521–23) of the same subject on the *ornamento* (fig. 4.16; Lotto was well acquainted in Venice with Andrea's protégé Jacopo Sansovino). Yet Lotto's image strongly customizes the Loretan prototype, effectively undoing and reforging Sansovino's composition. Just as he has turned the Virgin to face us, so, too, the entire space and its contents have been rotated so that we see the room now from a position far to the right. He has also looked at Tommaso da Modena's *Annunciate Virgin* in Treviso, his former home (fig. 4.17); Titian did likewise in his own *Annunciation* altarpiece

4.15 Lorenzo Lotto, *Annunciation*. 1534–35. Oil on canvas, 166 × 114 cm. Recanati, Museo civico. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

4.16 Andrea Sansovino, *Annunciation*. 1521–23. Marble. Loreto, Santuario della Santa Casa (Holy House). Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

4.17 Tommaso da Modena, *Virgin Annunciate*. c. 1350. Fresco. Treviso, S. Caterina.

for the cathedral of Treviso of about 1520, commissioned by one of Lotto's former patrons. We need terms stronger than "imitation" or even "emulation" to describe what is happening here: Lotto appropriates and translates a composition by Sansovino, utterly undoing the conventions of the Florentine sculptural relief, and supplanting any trace of *all'antica* sculptural style with his pliable but anxious figures, convulsively animate in a deep space traversed by fleeting shadows.

Titian's *Annunciation* of 1536–37 for the nuns of S. Maria degli Angeli in Murano betrays an awareness of Lotto's Recanati *Annunciation* (fig. 4.18). Lotto is thought to have painted the latter following his return to the Marches in 1532, but it is probable that he had a design for the work in hand before leaving Venice, which Titian, ever alert to the work of contemporaries, could have seen. Titian responded to the declamatory pose of the alighting Gabriel, and the frontal presentation of the Virgin, a slender and agitated character far more similar to Lotto's figure than to Titian's earlier Annunciate Virgin for Treviso of 1519. Titian's painting is lost, but an engraving by Caraglio endowed it with an afterlife that no work by Lotto could match, displacing even the relief by Sansovino in Loretan iconography. His debt to Lotto, in summary, worked to Lotto's disadvantage. Girolamo di Santa Croce's 1550 *Annunciation* (versions in the Columbia Museum of Art and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts) combines Sansovino's format and setting with Titian's figures. Decades later, at the second of the great *sacri monti*—that at Varese near Milan—the Caraglio print provided the model for Cristoforo Prestinari's 1610 realization of the same subject in the first of the chapels dedicated to the mysteries of the rosary, its walls carefully painted to recall the Santa Casa of Loreto.[101]

The sense of a confrontation with Rome is palpable in the case of the *Virgin of the Rosary* from 1539, made for a rosary confraternity in the town of Cingoli (fig. 4.19), especially if the work is considered in the context of patronage activity at the work's original site, the church of Sant'Esuperanzio. In 1537 the Silvestri fam-

4.18 Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio after Titian, *Annunciation*. 1537. Engraving, 45.5 × 34.4 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art—The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949.

ily, closely allied with the Farnese, declared their Romanizing cultural and political orientation by installing in their family chapel a partial replica of the Borgherini Chapel *Flagellation of Christ* by Sebastiano del Piombo, effectively the portion comprising the figure of Christ, which contemporaries knew to have been designed by Michelangelo. Nothing could present a greater contrast with the wildly inventive image of the Virgin and saints supplied to the Confraternity of the Rosary for the same church two years later, with its infant angels scattering rose petals in the beholder's direction and the fantastic efflorescence of the mysteries of the rosary in the rose bower surmounting the Virgin's throne. In part the work is a paraphrase of Lotto's own altarpiece for Recanati from thirty years before, escalating the

4.19 Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin of the Rosary*. 1539. Oil on canvas, 384 × 264 cm. Cingoli, Church of San Nicolo. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

4.20 Antonio da Faenza, *Madonna del Latte*. 1525. On canvas, 401 × 237 cm. Montelupone, Collegiata. Credit: Massimo Zanconi.

dramatic rapport between the Virgin and the Dominican saint (fig. 4.7). The confraternity's choice of Lotto would have been motivated by the presence in Cingoli some years before of his follower Antonio da Faenza, who had executed a *Virgin and Child with Saints* for the church of Santa Sperandia about 1526. Antonio's role in the transmission of Lotto's characteristic imagery, and as harbinger of Lotto's presence, is particularly noteworthy, the more so since he possessed a fairly thorough knowledge not just of Lotto's Marchigian but also of his Bergamasque works.[102] Antonio's altarpiece of the *Madonna del Latte* for Montelupone near Macerata is a free reworking of Lotto's Colleoni Martinengo altarpiece for Santi Domenico e Stefano in Bergamo (fig. 4.20; see fig. 2.3); it thus can be placed alongside Vincenzo da Pavia's citation of a Lotto Bergamo altarpiece in a work for Palermo (fig. 3.32), or Paris Bordone's recapitulation of Cesare da Sesto's Messina altarpiece in a work for Puglia (fig. 3.15), or Cesare's Messinese recollections of Cima and Correggio (fig. 3.11), as works of art that "regard" others at a distance, constantly gesturing to a larger network of artistic practices constituting Italian art, well before Vasari's more reductive and hierarchical geography.

Lotto's altarpieces to Recanati, Jesi, Osimo, Monte San Giusto, Loreto, Ancona, Fermo, Cingoli, Recanati, and Mogliano mark the sacred territory around the shrine at Loreto, acknowledging (to a greater or lesser degree) the prestigious cult of the Santa Casa. In almost every instance, Lotto's signature is prominently displayed. Patrons wanted to obtain a "Lotto" as good as the one in the next town, yet one that was suitably distinct and that reinforced a sense of communal apartness. In addition, such a monumental image should draw on the *local* prestige of Loreto but not on its universalizing and "Roman" aspect.

In place of the traditional continuum demarcated by iconographically stable and repetitive images of the Madonna of Loreto, the March of Ancona—in years of crucial transformation from a locally controlled into a Vatican-dominated cult—received a constellation of altarpieces, an assemblage of images whose modernity was underscored by the artist's recurring signature. Apart from the predella of the early Recanati altarpiece, none of the altarpieces for the region is a straightforward representation of the Madonna of Loreto. (She appeared in a now-lost altarpiece by Lotto for Treviso in 1544 and in a series of small panels with the story of the Santa Casa in 1551.)[103] Each work signals the proximity of Loreto, but in individualizing ways that construct the particularity of each site. The paintings constitute a network (and not a periphery) in which the Madonna of Loreto is incorporated, but precisely *not* as a centering principle: the cult's centering potential had been too heavily politicized in terms of papal interests. In refusing autocratic or political centrality, the shrine's status as heterotopia is reinscribed.

Thus, without disturbing the continuum of style, one of Lotto's Marian altarpieces even suggests a bid to resist and undermine the papal shrine's domination of Marian devotion in the region. The altarpiece for the Augustinian Hermits in Ancona from 1538–39, now known as the "Halberd" Altarpiece shows the Virgin being crowned by two angels (fig. 4.21). While the motif is certainly not unique to Loreto, it would have resonated with a common Marian iconography of the shrine, as well as the prac-

tice of various communes in the region of offering gold and silver votive crowns to the image of the Virgin there. Yet the *pala* also activates memories of a rival Marian cult in a city that saw itself in fierce competition with Recanati, especially with the flow of both pilgrimage and commercial revenue to its neighbor, and above all to the great fairs held in August and September.[104] A miraculous image of the Virgin in the Hospital of San Tommaso (a Dominican foundation) was rehoused in the new church of Santa Maria Incoronata in 1470, and, as men-

4.21 Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin and Child with Saints* ("Halberd" altarpiece). 1538–39. Oil on canvas, 294 × 216 cm. Ancona, Pinacoteca civica Francesco Podesti. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

tioned earlier, the city sought to obtain the rights to an annual fair in direct competition with the annual late summer fairs of Recanati. The cult achieved nowhere near the level of success of its counterpart, and in 1566 Santa Maria Incoronata was absorbed within the new church of Sant'Egidio.[105] However, a few years before Lotto painted his altarpiece, political strife between Ancona and its papal governor focused new attention on the church that took its name from the miraculous image. The inverted halberd of St. Simon Judas in the altarpiece has been connected with the termination in 1534 of the bloody regime of the cardinal legate Benedetto Accolti, archbishop of Ravenna, and the return from exile of Anconitan citizens.[106] In March 1533 several prominent *anconitani* had been put to death on Accolti's orders, and their decapitated bodies had been placed on the steps of Santa Maria Incoronata.[107] Lotto's altarpiece, with the inverted halbard and crowned Virgin, is more than a declaration of peace restored: it also participates in the reactivation of the cult in terms not only of local devotion but of patriotic memory directed against the papacy and thus—implicitly—against its major outpost in the Marches.

The altarpiece for the Confraternity of St. Lucy at San Floriano in Jesi is distinctive not only in departing from a Marian theme, but also because it pushes furthest against the emerging formulas for altarpiece imagery in Venice and Rome, as well as locally (fig. 4.22). Perhaps for this reason, it is also the work that is most self-conscious about its function as an altarpiece and about its place in the network of images by Lotto. The iconography for this popular saint was well established in Italy, and the episodes depicted by Lotto, taken from the *Legenda Aurea*, can be found in recent painting.[108] In the main panel Lucy, denounced by her pagan betrothed when she gives away her wealth to the poor, is condemned to service in a brothel by the judge Pascasius. With the protection of the Holy Spirit, his henchmen are unable to drag her to this ignominious fate. Previous and successive moments of the *passio* are depicted in the predella, which—in a scene twice as long as the others—show a further attempt to dislodge the defiant saint with a team of oxen.[109] In the preceding episode, Lucy devotes herself to the orthodoxies of prayer and good works. She is depicted with her mother before the shrine and sculpted image of St. Agatha in Catania (fig. 4.23); hanging before the statue are numerous ex votos, which would have called to mind the votive practices at the Virgin's sanctuary a few miles away from Jesi: "offerings of gold and silver, wax and pieces of cloth, garments of linen and wool, which though they would fetch a high price and nearly fill the entire basilica, the bishop keeps untouched for the glory of God and the Virgin."[110] Among the paintings on the surrounding altars in the fictive church, Lotto included an extraordinary citation of his own *St. Christopher* polyptych from 1531 for Castelplanio near Jesi (now Berlin, Gemäldegalerie), a figure he repeated alongside St. Sebastian and St. Roch in an altarpiece of 1532–35 for the Santa Casa itself (fig. 4.24).[111]

The story meanders in an unprecedented manner from the predella to the *pala* and back again, dilating the confrontation of Lucy and the judge into several scenes: time passes, in a series of scenes, but the narrative of arrested motion asserts the priority of place over time. Lucy's martyrdom is indefinitely suspended

4.22 Lorenzo Lotto, *St. Lucy Altarpiece*. 1532. Oil on wood, 243 × 237 cm (main panel). Jesi, Pinacoteca civica. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

4.23 Detail of fig. 4.22: predella.

4.24 Lorenzo Lotto, *St. Roch, St. Christopher and St. Sebastian*. 1532. Oil on canvas, 275 × 232 cm. Loreto, Santuario della Santa Casa, Pinacoteca. Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

and may never even have been depicted by Lotto.[112] Repetition underscores Lucy's transformation into a static sacred body. This explains her conformity with the beneficent effigy of St. Agatha with its healing powers and her triumph over the malignant idol that vainly threatens her, its petrified impotence ironically underscoring the saint's divinely empowered immobility. Lucy's iconic immobility is the condition by which divine agency is manifested through her and echoes the miraculous stasis, or fixing in place, through which sacred space is generated. A secular "counterpoint" to the sacred drama takes place at center stage: in the left foreground, an African nurse grabs the waist of a small child who stomps along the lowest step of the throne, the dominant line of orthogonal recession in the perspective construction of the scene. This painting makes clear that Lotto did not think of compositions involving moving human figures in terms of an orchestrated balance of dynamic weight shift, as Raphael did; rather, Lotto conceived of such compositions as unstable structures of bodily impulsion and constraint (a point to which we will return).

The work is thus strikingly self-conscious about the purpose and meaning of images in sacred space, and on the distinction of legitimate from illegitimate images of faith—a self-consciousness motivated, I would suggest, by Lotto's sounding out of the relation between the sacred objects of Loreto and his own production of modern icons in the vicinity.

In the case of the massive *Crucifixion* executed in 1529–31 for the soldier cleric Niccolò Bonafede and installed in the church of Santa Maria in Telusiano at Monte San Giusto, the principle of sacred landscape strikingly underlies its presentation of a Passion subject (fig. 4.25).[113] The work, although mostly executed in Venice, again discloses a Lombard orientation.[114] Lotto's composition has been compared with that of a marble relief of the Crucifixion by Giovanni Antonio Amedeo in the Colleoni Chapel in Bergamo, which Lotto would certainly have known.[115] Yet there is another, far more convincing model for Lotto's *Crucifixion* and one likely, by virtue of its site, to have had a far greater renown, for the patron as much as for the artist. Lotto has modeled his design on Gaudenzio Ferrari's 1511 fresco of the Crucifixion from the *tramezzo* of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Varallo (fig. 4.26). The portrayal of the patron as emotionally and psychologically involved in the action—an angel presents him to St. John, whose attention has just been drawn away from the tragic drama of the Virgin's swoon at the center foreground—evokes the kind of immersive, participatory experience associated with the Sacro Monte (Bonafede's documented activity in papal service took him at least as far north as Modena).[116] It is hardly coincidental that the evocation of a holy mountain should occur in a town bearing the name Monte San Giusto. The painting, in other words, invokes an artistic model connected with a sacred landscape—effectively connecting that of the Loreto hinterland with the celebrated *terra sancta* to the north. Just as "Loreto" manifests itself within western Lombardy, so the *sacro monte* here at Monte San Giusto finds its counterpart in the Marches.

Sacred landscapes may be seen as "deeply perspectival constructs," a coalescence of "real" space with "imagined worlds."[117] By the early sixteenth century in Italy, works of art enable such landscapes to extend themselves

4.25 Lorenzo Lotto, *Crucifixion*. 1529–31. Oil on canvas, 452.5 × 248 cm. Monte San Giusto, Santa Maria della Pietà in Telusiano. Credit: © DeA Picture Library / Art Resource, NY.

4.26 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Crucifixion*. c. 1513. Fresco. Detail of *tramezzo* of S. Maria delle Grazie, Varallo. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

discontinuously across larger spaces. In this respect they mirror the operations of the sacred sites and objects that produce sacred landscapes—the key example, as we have seen, is the Virgin's house of Nazareth, a mobile heterotopia that produced "multiples" of itself in Italy and throughout Europe. The character of the local is thus produced through a transregional imaginary; sites are conceived in terms of mobility and flow, as points of convergence extending to an "elsewhere."

Excursus: The Meaning of Style

The still-prevailing idea that Lorenzo Lotto was an artist who could not capitalize on his early potential, and that his restless wandering and temperamental aversion to emulative rivalry caused him to lose ground to more powerful contemporaries, has been bolstered by an infamously condescending letter addressed to the artist by Pietro Aretino in April 1548:

> Dear Lotto, good as goodness itself and virtuous as virtue: Titian in Augsburg, surrounded by the favors of the whole world, greets and embraces you by way of the letter he sent me two days ago. He says that the pleasure he receives from the approval by the Emperor of his works would be doubled if you would look at them and give him your verdict. No serious painter would go wrong in doing this, because your advice is based on long experience of art and nature and because it is guided by a sincere benevolence, which judges the efforts of others neither more kindly nor more sincerely than if they were your own. Hence it is possible to say that whoever places you in front of his own pictures is showing them to himself, and is seeking his own advice. There is no envy in your breast; rather you are glad to see others perform feats that you accept are beyond the reach of your own brush. Yet this still performs miracles not easily attainable by those who are interested only in their own work. And even if you are outclassed in the profession of painting, you cannot begin to be equaled in the profession of religion. Therefore heaven will compensate you with a glory that surpasses earthly praise.[118]

The letter is crucial as a record of an artistic conversation between Lotto and Titian, but that is not how it is usually read. In what he characterizes as freedom from "envy," Aretino sees Lotto as opting out of the competitive striving that was by now the mark of artistic ambition, especially in and between the centers of the Venice–Rome axis. For all his judicious attention to the work of others, Lotto's relation to other artists was not recognized as conforming to the protocols of imitation and emulation that now governed artistic practice in Florence and Rome. Yet Lotto was, if anything, a pioneer in that procedure: the problem was that, instead of borrowing motifs from a narrowing canon of ancient and modern art, the latter increasingly defined by print reproduction, Lotto sought to position his work in between a wide range of geographically disjunct artistic styles. Thus, apparently unconnected to the art of major centers, his work appeared "placeless." Such a lack of alignment in the constellation of front-rank Italian painters is already manifest in the year of Aretino's letter, when in the *Dialogue on Painting* by Paolo Pino, Lotto's name does not appear in the list of the artists working in Venice.[119] It was also

Pino who had come up with the nearly indelible formulation of what the goal of the younger generation of emulators should be: "If Titian and Michelangelo were one single body, where the color of Titian was added to drawing of Michelangelo, you could call this the god of painting, just as they are gods in themselves, and whoever holds a different opinion is a stinking heretic."[120]

The Loreto altarpiece (fig. 4.23) shows Lotto responding to several visual sources, drawing on the Laocoön for the nude figure of Sebastian (a rarity in his work), while the figure of St. Christopher recalls Dürer's woodcut images of the saint (1511, 1521, 1525). Had it been painted in Venice, this figure would have invited comparison with the 1524 fresco of the saint by Titian for the Doge's Palace (fig. 4.27)—which also draws on Dürer—since both Venetians invest the saint with a heroic musculature not found in the German prints. In his work for Venice, however, Lotto seems to

4.27 Titian, *St. Christopher*. 1524. Fresco, 310 × 186 cm. Venice, Doge's Palace. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

4.28 Titian, *Virgin and Child with St. Francis, St. Blaise, and Alvise Gozzi.* 1520. On panel, 320 × 206 cm. Ancona, Pinacoteca civica Francesco Podesti. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

have avoided comparisons with Titian. In the *St. Nicholas in Glory* (see fig. 4.1), Lotto drew on Gaudenzio's color, Raphaelesque design, a Dürer-like approach to composition and the figure, and Netherlandish landscape. The 1542 *Almsgiving of St. Antoninus* for Santi Giovanni e Paolo, in contrast, was a radical departure from the norms of altarpiece design at midcentury and destined to have no impact.[121]

Another telling case is the altarpiece for the Augustinian Hermits of Ancona, the *Pala d'Alabarda* (see fig. 4.21). As an altarpiece by a Venetian in Ancona, Lotto's work would have had to be measured in some way (by himself, by his audience) against Titian's Gozzi altarpiece for the Franciscan church in that city (fig. 4.28). In its blazing landscape of sunset over the Venetian lagoon, Titian goes to some length to mark his work as an expression of Venice, in an early overt bid to identify his style as *the* modern Venetian manner.[122] Lotto's cold color, tight drawing, and shadowy

4.29 Lorenzo Lotto, *Assumption of the Virgin*. 1549. On canvas, 670 × 403 cm. Ancona, S. Francesco delle Scale. Wikimedia Commons (Gep).

4.30 Titian, *Assumption of the Virgin*. 1516. On panel, 690 × 360 cm. Venice, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

4.31 Lorenzo Lotto, *Transfiguration,* detail: Assumption of the Virgin. 1512. Recanati, Pinacoteca civica. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

interior with windows commanding no exterior view conspicuously turn their back on Titian while beckoning for comparison with his own Marian altarpieces for Jesi, Recanati, and Cingoli. In later Marchigian altarpieces, Lotto explicitly reflected on his relationship to Titian's modern Venetian manner, and in a distinctly nonaffirmative way.

For San Francesco alle Scale, the same church in Ancona for which Titian had painted his Gozzi altarpiece in 1520, Lotto in 1550 produced an altarpiece usually now seen as a response to (even a failed imitation of) Titian's great 1516 *Assumption* for the church of the Frari (figs. 4.29, 4.30). Yet such a relationship is disputable—and Lotto seems deliberately to make it so.[123] It is as if Lotto were somehow aware that all later treatments of the Assumption in northern Italy were going to be referred to a now-canonical work, celebrated by Dolce in 1557 and Vasari in 1568, and sought to lay claim to an alternative genealogy. Lotto has instead reworked one of his own, much earlier Marchigian compositions, a predella panel from the 1512 Recanati *Transfiguration*, which predates Titian's *Assumption* by several years (fig. 4.31).[124] In giving monumental form to a composition of his own from the area (even if a relatively minor one), Lotto repudiates Titian's central artistic accomplishment—the coordinated asymmetry, the sense of the momentary integration of heavenly and divine spheres at the point of dissolution. Lotto forces heaven and earth apart both spatially and in the logic of human proportions.

Lotto's nonaffirmation of his contemporaries, of Titian or Raphael, does not arise from artistic "rivalry" as that is normally understood; it refuses to play that game. His refusal of emulation has other motives, proceeding from a tension that lies at the heart of his painting, concerning the very grounds on

which religious painting could employ "style" at all. Artistic style—as in individual style or regional style—is not a fully laid out concept by the 1500s. When it was articulated, by Vasari in the 1550s and 1560s, it was in terms of generally normative conceptions of *maniera*: individual styles (*maniere*) were acknowledged but were to be judged in accordance with how they accommodated themselves to the "good modern manner," or *bella maniera*. There is good reason to think that this was not a concept of style that Lorenzo Lotto would have recognized, just as he would not have recognized Vasari's identification of the "good modern manner" in the normative Tuscan-Roman one.

The sixteenth-century concept of style as *maniera* had dual antecedents. On the one hand, style was a property of leading artists and could be taken up by their followers and imitators. Sometimes artists were understood to possess a personal predisposition, visible in their art, shaped by training and practice—a principle articulated in some detail by Cennino Cennini early in the fifteenth century, by Filarete who saw individual stylistic differences as akin to handwriting and as manifest (for figures as different as Leonardo and Savonarola) in the notion that "every artist paints himself."[125] On the other hand, style was conceivable as ornament. Artistic distinction was assessed and paid for on the basis of conspicuous embellishment, which could include the quality and value of materials used, but which by the later fifteenth century was more likely to be identified with demonstrations of skill in the form of accomplished artistic labor in excess of basic requirements and manifest most obviously in landscapes, elaborate settings, and details of costumes and accessories. Alberti, who had nothing to say about the individualizing distinctions between artists, held painting to be praiseworthy when it revealed itself "to be so charming and attractive [*ornatam*] as to hold the eye of the learned and unlearned spectator for a long while with a certain sense of pleasure and emotion." [126] A century later, Benedetto Varchi wrote that painting was praiseworthy for its "magnificenza et ornamento."[127]

In the 1500s, largely as a result of the impact of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* and a rising genre of conduct literature, the "physiognomic" model of individual singularity is largely subordinated to and determined by the performative one: style discloses not a given personality but a social persona fashioned in accordance with increasingly aestheticized norms of refined conduct. Disclosure of personal idiosyncrasy—we might think of Vasari's characterization of Pontormo in terms of morbidity and melancholy obsession—would now be seen in pathological terms.

By contrast, I propose that what can be called style in Lotto is rooted in the principle that *ornato* is desirable in artistic performance; yet his style manifests principles of disciplinary comportment, or ascesis, that differ markedly from the courtly *grazia* upheld by Bembo, Castiglione, Raphael, and Vasari. That is, style in Lotto is a product of a tension, not a harmony, between an ascetic and an aesthetic ideal. In its radical character it tends to position itself against the art of Venice and Rome, and Lotto pursues its broader extension in the Marches, Treviso, and Lombardy. Modern criticism has often misrecognized the tension of ornament and ascesis as signaling an absence of style, even naturalizing Lotto's performance

as an expressive directness that mirrored the sensibilities of a provincial audience. Freedberg writes that Lotto, in some of his works, manifests "an expressive turbulence in which the roughness and immediacy of forms and feelings are dominant and in which types and manner of deportment are *popolano*, unstylized and unidealized."[128] Freedberg understands style according to the conventions of the Rome–Venice axis, with their priority on *grazia*. When this appears to be lacking, the result can only be described as a kind of primitive mimesis, and one that is regionally determined: this is painting in "Lombard prose . . . almost abjuring style, and taking *mimesis* as the painter's primary end."[129] The problem, of course, lies in the adequacy of Freedberg's categories—that there cannot be ornament without *grazia*, that the persistence of unsettling abstract tendencies throughout Lotto's work cannot be reconciled with a rhetorical purpose, an inflexion through ornament, and hence must be designated as a rough, pious literalness.

The visual excess in Lotto seems disturbingly surplus to decoration: in swirls and cascades of brightly colored drapery, for instance, often with fastidiously meandering borders whose animation bears little relation to gravity or the movement of air. Yet this flourishing of colors and outlines and rich details, together with a coerced ungainliness in the disposition of his figures, often serves to articulate a striking degree of abstraction at the level of pictorial organization—sometimes this rigidification seems preestablished in Lotto's architectural structures or (to some extent) in his richly patterned Anatolian carpets.[130] Lotto's art pursues a kind of alignment between the ornamental abstractions of painting and the idea of a personal, spiritual inclination, which is sustained by effort rather than graceful poise.

In fact, constraint is a recurring principle throughout Lotto's work, secular as well as sacred. It is strikingly manifest in instances where bodies in their movement or in their daily *habitus* are shown as immobilized and forced into a diagrammatic syntax by symbolic props: a Cupid achieves "balance" only through strenuous action, by equalizing the force he exerts with his feet in a pair of scales; a Bergamasco notable and his wife are "braced" by Cupid with a literal yoke of matrimony. The intarsia covers of Bergamo insinuate that the Old Testament world in the scenes they conceal are pervaded from within by an armature of symbols.

Coercive Geometry

Apart from the Virgin and saints, the Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine is the religious subject most frequently treated by Lotto, a specialization that may be the result of the artist's preferences rather than those of his clients. The earliest known example is the painting dated 1506 and now in Munich, of which there are two further versions (fig. 4.32).[131] Others include the Bergamo altarpiece with the portrait of the patron Niccolò Bonghi of 1523 (fig. 4.33), the Barberini *Virgin and Saints* of 1524 (fig. 4.34), a painting of the same subject now in Vienna from 1528, and another in Bergamo from 1533 (fig. 4.35), of which there are six additional versions.[132] Catherine's mystic marriage constituted a nexus of devotional concerns: it was attained through the learned princess's conversion to Christianity, her embrace of chasti-

ty, and her forswearing of worldly wisdom; it was regarded as an *imitatio* both of the Virgin (in its embrace of chastity and nuptial union with the divine) and of Christ, since it signaled her commitment to martyrdom.[133] In the picture from 1506, Lotto has placed his signature directly on Catherine's attribute of the spiked wheel, the relentlessly geometric symbol of her martyr's destiny.

=From the 1520s, however, the centrality of Catherine is supplanted by a male saint, in a new iconography that seems original with Lotto. In the 1533 *Holy Family with St. Catherine*—one of Lotto's most popular compositions, surviving in several variants—it appears as if it is St. Joseph who invites and enables Catherine to see the Christ Child.[134] The possibility that patriarchal anxieties motivated the rise of his cult, and its mutation from a long tradition of *female* visionary privilege, remains to be explored.[135] In the 1533 canvas, St. Joseph's centrality involves the displacement of others: in addition to a newly hesitant and tentative St. Catherine, the Virgin seems to close in on herself like a tautening spiral, especially in comparison with Joseph's open and expansive pose.

All these paintings manifest the intensification of an already rigid inner geometry: the figures in the Munich picture (fig. 4.32) form a kind of crystalline pyramid, with the Virgin's bowed head in relentless symmetry at the apex; in the Bergamo painting of 1523 (fig. 4.33), the figures surrender to a strange

4.32 Lorenzo Lotto, *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*. 1506. On panel, 71 × 91 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Alte Pinakothek / Art Resource, NY.

4.33 Lorenzo Lotto, *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine with Niccolò Bonghi*. 1523. Oil on canvas, 189 × 134 cm. Bergamo, Academia Carrara. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

4.34 Lorenzo Lotto, *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*. 1524. Oil on canvas, 98 × 115 cm. Rome, Galleria nazionale d'arte antica, Palazzo Barberini. Credit: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

4.35 Lorenzo Lotto, *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*. 1533. Oil on canvas, 81.5 × 115.3 cm. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara. Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

compulsion to bend their necks and arms in accordance with an intrusive geometry, a kind of girder-like system of diagonals that criss-crosses the image. In the 1524 picture now in Rome (fig. 4.34), figures appear arranged according to a partly revealed inner armature of verticals, triangles, and circles. In later pictures, such as the Bergamo canvas of 1533 (fig. 4.35), repeated rhythms of arms and draperies describe an abstract, wave-like pattern across the surface. What might seem to be a principle of rhythm or animation could also be described as a compulsive rigidification: look at the spur of blue drapery that pulls away from the Virgin's shoulder, as if to echo the tilt of her head and draw it into the relentless inner continuum of diagonals that traverse the image. And in the great altarpiece for the rosary confraternity of Cingoli (fig. 4.18), it is as if the underlying armature actually comes to the surface—a chain-like diagram with the Mysteries of the Rosary; the grid appears here as nothing other than the historical and eschatological necessity that motivates and compels the foreground figures.

Both Catherine and Joseph are presented as models of devotional comportment. In particular, their portrayal by Lotto corresponds to one of the concerns of the devotional literature of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: the centrality of the emotions (*affetti*, "passions"), or *muovimenti del cuore* (motions of the heart) in penitence, conversion, or other spiritual disciplines. The "motions of the heart," as much as the cruel motion of the martyr's wheel, are crucial in the inclination of the will toward Christ, leading ultimately to an unmediated spiritual union with the divine.[136]

Several of these devotional texts dwell on the somatic dimension of these inner motions, the bodily postures produced by and productive of such inner states: "Blessed is he who stands in solitude and does not linger in a multitude of works, but who diverts all bodily operations into the practice of prayer, and believes himself to be with God for the duration of the time he does this."[137]

Lotto's "style" is in many respects coextensive with the effortful, physically performative "inclinations" of his figures, arising from the rhythm of bodies braced by invisible constraints—a straining of necks, spines, and limbs utterly different from the fluid contrapposto that animates a body conceived by Raphael, Parmigianino, or the subsequent formulas of mannerist painting.[138] To be sure, abstract geometry had played an assertive role in Italian religious art since the 1300s; Rebecca Zorach has discussed Marian paintings by Fra Angelico and Giovanni Bellini, posing the question, "Is the abstraction of geometry troubled by the presence of this physical maternal body?"[139] Ultimately, for those artists in her account, the answer to this question is no, and the same negative answer obtains for Raphael, Leonardo, and Sarto, in whose works pyramidal compositions and an organizing surface geometry do not compromise a sense of easeful animation among the figures. With Lotto, however, it is as if bodies have been disposed according to a force or will not their own (a sense reinforced by Lotto's habitual use of lay figures with movable parts, rather than human models). These are paintings about spiritual inclination in which bodily resistance and disinclination have been overcome, but not without force. This is why St. Lucy, in the grip of the descending Holy Spirit, stands steadfast and immovable, impervious to the traction of human or animal force (fig. 4.21). Viewers of the altarpiece are enjoined to empathize with Lucy's literal firmness before the judge, to imagine the sensation of being coerced and standing firm. The theme is underscored in the motif of the child being restrained and by the bystander figures who clutch columns in the courtroom.

The Virgin Mary in the *Annunciation* at Recanati (fig. 4.15) looks toward and seems to engage us; we discern a directness of address that seems to change register just as we become aware of it. Her intensity of expression, although directed out of the painting, is somehow oriented to the angelic intruder coming from behind: she is seized by a kind of rapture that severs or withdraws her inner motivation from her bodily inclination. The fraught conformity of inner and outer disposition is central to Lotto's images of St. Jerome, whose ungainly body struggles to conform itself to the crucifix; it is present in the strange currents of energy that traverse the composition of the Monte San Giusto *Crucifixion* (fig. 4.25); or in the folding together of figures in the Brera *Pietà*. It even surfaces in portraiture, where Lotto's approach is strikingly different from that of Raphael and Titian.[140]

The most striking quality of Lotto's portrait subjects is a state of what could be called preoccupation, which precludes *sprezzatura*, the graceful comportment that conventionally signals that the subject's true splendor lies within, perhaps the ruling preoccupation of Castiglione's courtier ethos and equally of

the introspective, moody portraits of young men painted by Titian in the early decades of the 1500s. We might describe Lotto's subject's postures as *labored*. It is as if the body is straining against its own opacity in order to make itself articulate and intelligible. The soul is not a light that shines forth from within, as the character "Pietro Bembo" conceives it at the conclusion of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il cortegiano*. Interiority is, as it were, produced and maintained through the application of the subject's entire physical being.[141] In his portrait (London, Royal Collection), Andrea Odoni gestures with a statuette toward the objects in his collection, while pressing his hand to his heart (and clutching a small golden cross, now scarcely visible, as if he were trying to absorb it into his heart). "It is of these," he seems to suggest, "that my inner self consists, through which it comes into being." A young man (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia) leafs through a hefty account book while hunched over a table scattered with rose petals and musical instruments, as if drawn by contrary impulses toward *ozio* and *negozio*. As Marsilio Casotti places a wedding ring on the hand of his spouse, Faustina, a leering Cupid forces a yoke on their shoulders (Madrid, Museo del Prado). Then there is the portrait of a richly dressed woman sometimes identified as the Venetian Lucrezia Venier (fig. 4.36). The sitter is identified with this documented individual because she holds, and points to, a drawing of her supposed namesake, the ancient martyr to chastity who killed herself to secure her reputation after her rape. On the table is the heroine's dying speech quoted from Livy's Latin history: "no unchaste woman shall live if she follows Lucretia's example." Intriguingly, the figure in the drawing adopts the kind of classical, Raphaelesque contrapposto that Lotto generally rejected in his work: in her ungainly vehemence and sense of embodied energy, Lotto's subject has no match in sixteenth-century female portraiture.[142] She hunches her shoulders and bends her neck, while holding a drawing of the exemplary namesake figure of chastity at arm's length—as if acting out the constant effort, and internal conflict, that is needed to live up to such an implacable exemplar of purity. The contrast between her pose and the mellifluous contrapposto of the idealized nude is striking and deliberate.

4.36 Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of a Lady ("Lucrezia")*. 1533. Oil on canvas, 96.5 × 110.6 cm. London, National Gallery. Credit: © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY.

Lotto clearly wants to signal the disparity between Bembo's identification of grace and virtue, and the lived experience of embodied

individuals in their everyday world. It is as if the soul were not just perfected and maintained but actually produced by a labor of internalization that pits the body against itself, forcing itself into conformity with an ideal. Character or identity is the product of that self-fashioning. Undergirding this conception are long-standing Christian ideas of spiritual and physical discipline, as well as confessional zeal: these are the subject of Lotto's late portrait of the Hieronymite Fra' Gregorio Belo da Vicenza, driving his fist into his chest with the apparition of the Crucifixion in the landscape behind him, living up to the disciplinary ideal of his order's titular saint (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). The idea of a continuum, however fraught it may be, between one's inner and outer being is very different from the idea of the self in the closing pages of *Asolani*: "O Lavinello, Lavinello, you are not that which your exterior form shows you to be, and neither are other men who on the outside appear different to what they really are. One's soul is who one is, and not the outer figure that you can point to with a finger."[143] Lotto's portrait subjects, however, already point at—or through—their *embodied* selves (fig. 4.37).

4.37 Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of a Man Thirty-seven Years Old*. c. 1540. Oil on canvas, 95 × 80 cm. Rome, Doria Pamphilj Gallery.

In Lotto's practice of nonimitation and anti-*grazia*, we have an attempt to "motivate" style into something more than Bembo's literary code of civility and refined expression, its acquiescence to central Italian norms. In his staking out of aesthetic as well as physical distance from Raphael and Titian, Lotto is differentiating himself from the two artists who would be most readily identified as the artistic analogues to Bembo's literary canons. Thus, Lotto is the painter of the "other Italy," of a sophisticated urban life that kept an ironic distance from the patrician world of Venice, Florence, and Rome, with its normative linguistic and aesthetic canons, with its newly fashioned subjectivity grounded in *grazia* and *sprezzatura*, in elegant and prudent dissimulation, in its valorization of a preexisting interiority.

In what follows I want to reflect more fully on this counter-Roman investment of style with ethos by looking at comparable experiments in the work of Lotto's Lombard-Piedmontese contemporary Gaudenzio Ferrari, arguing for an alternative to the regionalist teleologies that so often dominate the scholarship on both these artists.

Moti: Emotional Dynamics

Giovan Paolo Lomazzo went against the grain of the critical tradition in his enthusiastic references to Lorenzo Lotto, "an exceptional master in the handling of light," singling out the maligned *St. Nicholas in Glory* altarpiece (see fig. 4.1) and an *Assumption of the Virgin* at Celana near Bergamo, "considered unique among many painters" and "exceptional." In the case of Gaudenzio Ferrari, Lomazzo went beyond the resurrection of a reputation. He sought to rank the painter with Michelangelo, Titian, and Raphael. Gaudenzio appears as one of Lomazzo's "Seven Governors of Painting" in his *Idea of the Temple of Painting.* The other six governors—Raphael, Titian, Michelangelo, Leonardo, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and Mantegna—constitute a transregional canon of modern masters, and thus both a critique of Vasari's geographic and chronological bias and a correction to his dismissive treatment of Lombard painters in particular. Lomazzo's canon establishes parity between artists in central Italy, Lombardy, and Venice, while Polidoro's inclusion enabled the allegorical "Temple of Painting" to encompass southern Italy. Each painter is master of a specific aspect of the art that would form a component of a future, idealized super-painting. Gaudenzio is distinguished not only by his impressive command of *moti*—what might be called "emotional dynamics"—but also his independence from other artists (that is, his freedom from the practice of imitation). In his other major work on painting, his *Trattato*, Lomazzo went yet further, elaborating on the habit of identifying celebrated writers and painters, established by Bembo and Dolce. In book 6, chapter 2, Lomazzo assigned each of his "Seven Governors of Painting" to a different canonical poet whose qualities they embody in their art. Michelangelo is to Dante as Raphael is to Petrarch; Titian is matched with Ariosto, following Dolce in his *Aretino*, Polidoro with Virgil, Leonardo with Homer, and Mantegna with Sannazaro. Gaudenzio, however, manifests instead "the devotion to be found in the books of the saints."[144] The analogy is with "sacred rusticity," the pious and unaffected style employed preeminently by the evangelists and by many devotional writers in the vernacular. Lomazzo's system appears to require that Gaudenzio occupy the category of art without *imitazione* and polish without *maniera*. Here, he may have been drawing on the local celebrity of Gaudenzio in the Valsesia, propagated by authors of devotional guides like Francesco Sesalli, in whose *Breve descrittione del Sacro Monte di Varallo di Valsesia* of 1566 Gaudenzio is primarily the artist of the ultra-naturalistic mixed-media chapels of the Sacro Monte.[145]

In the *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, Lomazzo is more measured. Gaudenzio now appears as a poet, musician, architect, and natural philosopher, and as a painter he excels "in the portrayal of gypsies, whom he depicted in different ways with their diadems twisted in a whimsical, charming fashion, in his Moors, shepherds, children, old people, stones, caverns, and rocks."[146] The switch from Gaudenzio as an artist working in a pious style to his association with vagabondage and exotic ornament is noteworthy. (Indeed, Federico Zuccaro would write somewhat later that "this Gaudenzio had a vigorous *ingegno* and an extravagant style.")[147] Yet while conceding that Gaudenzio worked in "different manners," Lomazzo in-

sists that the idiom the artist adopted at the "Sepulcher of Varallo" was the

> principal one, delicate and admirable, even in the modeling of clay sculptures; all the later styles he took up elsewhere are inferior. So whoever has not seen the Sepulcher cannot pretend to know what painting is nor what makes it truly excellent. Because it is demonstrated here how vividly emotions [*affetti*] can be represented, such as suffering and passion in the faces of weeping angels, or joy and jubilation in laughing children, which nature herself cannot portray more vividly. The excellent Attic architecture may also be remarked, as well as the profuse variety of foliage and friezes of colonnades, for which Gaudenzio was unique in the world.[148]

Lomazzo's insistence that Gaudenzio at Varallo employed an emotive and descriptive form of representation comparable to nature itself, that he avoided using the *maniere* of others, and that his work corresponds to the simplicity of scriptural and devotional authors, has largely shaped the artist's critical afterlife. Also influential in modern scholarship has been Morone's remark from 1508, quoted earlier, that the chapels of the Sacro Monte were "fabricate simplicitas et sine arte structura ingenuusque," even though it is far from certain that any of Gaudenzio's work at Varallo was even begun by then.[149] In the writings of Samuel Butler, Giovanni Testori, Sydney Freedberg, David Freedberg, and others, Gaudenzio has been presented as a kind of styleless naturalist, strongly imprinted with the character of the Valsesian people and landscape.[150] In the rhapsodies of Testori, Gaudenzio's sculptures manifest the "truth of the land" (verita . . . del paese), the "ties of love and blood" between the native genius and the region.[151] For Pier Giorgio Longo, who follows the tradition of identifying portraits and "typical" physiognomies of the Valsesia in Gaudenzio's *Chapel of the Crucifixion*, that ensemble is "a votive offering to the prestige and power of neighbors, the aristocracy of the city invoking the protection of order and consensus from the Franciscans, while the men of the valley find themselves unified and pacified around the same cross."[152] "Addressed to the least sophisticated level of the population," wrote Freedberg, "in the region least penetrated by the Renaissance, the contents of the Sacro Monte were not conceived as works of art in the developed sixteenth-century sense. Art in them was wholly a means and not at all an end; its sole use was to recreate the utmost that it could of a reality."[153]

All of this is questionable. Writers on Gaudenzio Ferrari as a maker of literalist religious tableaux, and local historians with their particularist agendas, have been generally inattentive to ways in which this most "local" of artists commanded multiple pictorial traditions, or to the sense that Gaudenzio—as can be demonstrated—perceived tradition not as grounded in indigenous production but as a manifold and complex inheritance. He completed two fresco projects for Santa Maria delle Grazie, the church at the foot of the mount, which then, as now, served as the local starting point for the Varallo pilgrimage. The decoration of the great *tramezzo*—a floor-to-ceiling mural screen separating the clergy from the laity, but also a site for preaching—was completed in 1513 (fig. 4.38). All of its twenty-one scenes, telling the evangelical narrative

4.38 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Scenes of the Life and Passion of Christ*. 1511–13. Fresco. Varallo, S. Maria delle Grazie, *tramezzo*. Credit: © DeA Picture Library / Art Resource, NY.

from the Annunciation to the Resurrection—dominated by the monumental *Crucifixion* at the center—have counterparts in the series of "mysteries" described in the 1514 guidebook to the Monte. Relatively few of these painted mysteries were as yet realized as sculptural dioramas, and most would not be constructed until the end of the century as part of a greatly amplified series.[154] This means that for much of the sixteenth century, the *tramezzo* imagery would have provided a repertoire of mental images for the pilgrim, a means of supply-

ing through inner visualization what could not yet be seen during the various stations of the pilgrimage. Sermons by the friars would have underscored what was especially to be remembered.

The local prototype of the painted *tramezzo* is believed to have been prescribed and even designed by St. Bernardino of Siena for the convent of Sant'Angelo in Milan in 1458. The first frescoed choir screen was for the church of San Giacomo in Pavia in 1475–76, undertaken by a team of painters, including Bonifacio Bembo and Vincenzo Foppa, which gave rise to a similar initiative at the older church of Sant'Angelo, possibly undertaken by Foppa in the 1480s.[155] Neither of these preeminent examples survives, but their imagery and format are thought to be repeated at other foundations: the frescoes by Martino Spanzotti at San Bernardino in Ivrea (1485–90), Stefano Scotto's *tramezzo* decoration at Bellinzona (c. 1510–15), and Gaudenzio's at Varallo.[156] Gaudenzio's painted cycle corresponds only generically to the solutions of Spanzotti at Ivrea or Scotto at Bellinzona, indicating that in large part it was independently conceived and not a mere recension of the precedents at San Giacomo and Sant'Angelo.

Gaudenzio Ferrari's pictorial language discloses a far broader array of models and antecedents than are apparent in the *tramezzo* narratives by Spanzotti and Scotto. Unlike them, and by contrast with the hyperreal simulacra of places in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth being constructed up the hill at Varallo, the painted narratives of the choir screen appear far more self-consciously concerned with the language of art, and with the evocation of nonlocal models (fig. 4.39). They are resplendent with colored tiled floors, relief sculptures, colonnades dramatically receding into space; armor and other details are in raised *pastiglia*, producing in the *Crucifixion* highly assertive sculptural effects.[157] There is a sense—not fortuitously, as we will see—of figures straining at their frame in crowded compositions of jostling bodies. The *Baptism of Christ* is an essay in the *maniera* of Perugino; the *Last Supper* and *Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples* are shown to take place in palatial halls with arcaded piers and coffered barrel vaults recalling the architecture of Bramante; while the *Flagellation of Christ* indicates close study of a 1481 print showing ruined architecture after Bramante (the "Prevedari engraving") as well as Mantegna's engraving of the same subject (directly quoted in the figure of the torturer viewed from behind).[158] Moreover, in their foregrounding of style—and indeed, *styles*—as embellishing artifice, the choir screen frescoes make a deliberate and conscious foil for what Gaudenzio Ferrari will unfold in the Sacro Monte of Varallo in the next seventeen years. The painted cycle supplies a dimension of fictive representation, serving as a threshold to an experience of the image that pushes beyond "artful" representation into the simulation of presence.

As an exercise in *maniera*, the Varallo cycle thus recognizes a transregional pantheon that includes Mantegna, Zenale, Bramante, Foppa, Perugino, and—once again—the ubiquitously influential Dürer. Leonardo da Vinci, whose works were well known to Gaudenzio, is conspicuous by his near-absence. The *Adoration of the Magi* borrows the pose of the Virgin from the London *Virgin and Child with St. Anne,* while the turbaned horseman indicates

4.39 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Scenes of the Life and Passion of Christ*, detail. 1511–13. Scenes to the right of the Crucifixion: Baptism of Christ, Raising of Lazarus, Christ Entering Jerusalem, Last Supper, Arrest of Christ, Flagellation of Christ. Credit: Carlo Pozzoni.

Gaudenzio's knowledge of Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* cartoon, or a copy; such reminiscences are too minor and too heavily disguised to count as citations. In the *Last Supper*, Leonardo's mural in Milan is acknowledged only obliquely; it is the same setting, the refectory with paneled walls and an opening onto a landscape at the rear, but viewed from the left end of the room in relation to Christ, almost over the shoulders of two apostles seated at the end of the table.[159] Christ appears in profile leaning in from the right, thrusting the bread into the mouth of Judas (an elaboration of the text of John 13:26, which simply recounts that Christ

4.40 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. 1508. On panel, 110 × 79 cm. Turin, Galleria Sabauda. Credit: Licensed by the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo—Musei Reali Torino.

4.41 Leonardo da Vinci, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. 1510. On panel, 168 × 130 cm. Paris, Louvre. Credit: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

gives the bread to Judas). Competing for the viewer's attention is some anecdotal business between a standing, gesturing apostle and a serving boy pouring wine at upper right. Such "genre" elements point to the precedence of Lombard depictions of the *Last Supper* before Leonardo, such as the illumination in the Sforza Hours of about 1490 (fol. 138v) or the corresponding scene in the *tramezzo* of Bellinzona by the Scotto workshop.[160] Yet the most conspicuous allusion here is to the scene of the Last Supper in Dürer's *Small Passion* of 1511, evoked also in the scene of *Christ Entering Jerusalem*.

Some of Gaudenzio's earliest known paintings had shown a closer engagement with Leonardo's work. The early *Crucifixion* now in the museum at Varallo, dated to the late 1490s, borrows a foreshortening effect from the Florentine's *Last Supper* at Santa Maria del-

le Grazie. A few years later, one of his earliest surviving murals from a chapel on the Sacro Monte (chapel 40, originally dedicated to the Spoliation of Christ, dated as early as 1506) demonstrates that Gaudenzio already knew at least some designs for Leonardo's abandoned *Battle of Anghiari* project in Florence, as well as Leonardo's drawing *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia).[161] The *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, the central panel of a polyptych painted for a confraternity in Vercelli in 1508, shows that Gaudenzio knew not only Leonardo's cartoon of the subject (which he would draw from in the *tramezzo*) but the painting now in the Louvre (figs. 4.40, 4.41). The artist has borrowed and transposed the lower body of the Virgin from Leonardo's design, but the whole is rendered with such assertive drawing and cold, bright color that the appropriation goes almost unnoticed.[162] Thereafter, for the next three decades, direct evocations of Leonardo disappear from his work: he will very occasionally draw on the sfumato modeling and blithe expressions of the so-called *Leonardeschi* (Cesare da Sesto, Luini, Boltraffio).[163] In general however, Gaudenzio pursued other paths, whether in the stark naturalism of the Sacro Monte chapels or in the buoyant linear rhythm and sumptuous color of the decorations at Vercelli and Saronno.

Inevitably, his lack of engagement with Leonardo has reinforced the historiographic construction of Gaudenzio as a conservative artist—especially when, in the 1510 altarpiece for Arona, he closely modeled his central Nativity group on a local work by Perugino, an artist who (if we are to believe Vasari) had long outlived his moment of fame (figs. 4.42, 4.43). Furthermore, Perugino's 1495 Sforza altarpiece for the Certosa of Pavia (fig. 4.43) remained a constant point of reference in Gaudenzio's many subsequent treatments of the Nativity, whether at Arona in 1510, or a few years later in the Varallo Bethlehem chapel, or again in Novara by 1521, or a decade later in Vercelli. Such evocations of Perugino have been taken as evidence that Gaudenzio was trained in central Italy—even as a means of connecting him to Raphael—and, correlatively, that the modernizing element in his art derives from this alternative route to the art of Florence and Rome.[164] The putative Roman trip has become one of the orthodoxies of scholarship on the artist; it seems to me to present less difficulties if we see Ferrari as benefiting directly from contact with Leonardo's inner circle in Milan. Gaudenzio's response to Perugino indicates familiarity with a relatively limited number of his works, in contrast to his familiarity with both versions of Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, *Last Supper*, *Battle of Anghiari*, and *Christ Carrying the Cross*. It is possible that the location of Perugino's work in the Certosa di Pavia and its association with the deposed Sforza dynasty—who would later, on their restoration, be decisive for the later direction of Gaudenzio's career—may have recommended it to the patrons and to the painter.

Of greater interest is that in his 1510 evocation of Perugino, Gaudenzio discloses an ironic relationship to Leonardo, in the form of a cipher-like signature: "gaudetius vi[n]cius p." He signed other early works "Vincius," "De Vincio," or "De Vince," clearly encouraging his patrons and viewers to connect him with the

4.42 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Nativity Polyptych*. 1510. On panel. 420 × 308 cm (including frame). Arona, Collegiata.
Credit: Licensed by Ufficio dei Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici della Diocesi di Novara.

4.43 Perugino, Altarpiece from Certosa of Pavia, central panel: *Virgin and Child*. c. 1498. On panel, 114 × 63.5 cm. London, National Gallery. Credit: © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY.

famous artist.[165] How many would have known that "Vincio" was the surname of Gaudenzio's mother?

Gaudenzio embellished and transformed the Perugino prototype with a rich and florid palette and a pronounced linear elaboration, with great scooping arabesques of drapery that link the figures as well as enliven the pictorial surface. The sculptural treatment of the *Nativity* (fig. 4.44) and *Adoration of the Christ Child* groups at Varallo is strikingly different. While the poses and basic physiognomic types are similar, and while features such as the Virgin's green-lined mantle have been retained, the sculptures are conceived fully in terms of volume: the drapery folds do not call attention

4.44 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Nativity*. 1515. Varallo, Sacro Monte, Chapel of the Nativity. Credit: Carlo Pozzoni.

to themselves as abstract pattern, which would undermine the literalism of real hair and carefully tinted flesh.

The surface-affirming, decorative effects of line are taken even further in the artist's fresco of the same subject in the great cycle of the *Lives of the Virgin and the Magdalene* at San Cristoforo at Vercelli, painted 1530–32 (fig. 4.45a, b).[166] Here broad, curvilinear forms reconcile the monumental figures with an expansive two-dimensional surface: such linear rhythm works with large, flat fields of color to reinforce the sense of the wall throughout Gaudenzio's mural painting, including the frescoes in the chapels of the Sacro Monte.

Such an insistence on line could not be further from the famous sfumato technique of Leonardo and his followers, which claimed faithfulness to observable reality by eliminating conspicuous contour. It would be all too easy to see Gaudenzio as a provincial artist who does not quite "get" Leonardo, who adheres to the conventions of an archaic workshop tradition and who gravitates more easily to Perugino. Yet the claim can be made, especially with Gaudenzio's post-1510 production, that he understood Leonardo only too well. Instead of taking up the formulas of the *Leonardeschi*—the sfumato modeling, the attention to alluring yet fugitive expressions—Gaudenzio turned Leonardo's revolutionary "hypernaturalism" to purposes that Leonardo never envisioned: the creation of a religious image that breaches the frame to involve the beholder, that exploits differences in media even while blurring their limits, that employs a composite artifice to challenge the limits of art itself, where elements of the real world enter the rep-

4.45a Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Life of the Virgin*. 1530–32. Fresco. Vercelli, San Cristoforo. Credit: Ghigo G. Roli / Art Resource, NY.

resentation.[167] A correlative claim will be that Gaudenzio did not see painting as subsuming the function of sculpture—as in the so-called *paragone* debate—but held the two media as sustaining complementary effects, and that their intermediality could be productive of meaning.

Claire Farago and Carlo Pedretti have both drawn parallels between Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks*, installed in San Francesco Grande in Milan in 1507 but commissioned many years earlier, and the tableaux of the Sacro Monte (though without particular address to their respective dating or chronology).[168] This Conventual church was believed to have been built over sacred ground attested by miracles—a cemetery of early Christian saints. The unprecedented presence-effects in the central panel, in which figures seem to move and to breathe and to smile within a dark grotto, would have

4.45b Detail. Credit: © DeA Picture Library / Art Resource, NY.

served as a visualization of sacred presence, supplementing the real sacred matter that remained immured and out of sight (see fig. 2.7). Yet such powerful pictorial simulation of depth and presence would have presented the maximum contrast with the carved, gilt, and polychrome sculpture constituting a large part of the polyptych. Giacomo del Maino's workshop provided a framing apparatus, including statues of the Virgin, seraphim, God the Father with angels, various "mountains" and "rocks," and figures of prophets and sibyls.[169] The juxtaposition would have preempted Leonardo's polemical comparison of sculpture and painting in his later notebooks and his notorious dismissal of sculpture as painting's ineffective rival.[170] While interested in illusion, and later famous as a maker of automata and other marvels, Leonardo remained committed to the medium-specificity of painting, which he

saw in strictly Albertian terms both as simulated *rilievo* and as framed and bounded by a window-like, two-dimensional surface.[171] Leonardo, in Milan in the 1490s, had begun his famous polemic against the literalism of sculpture, for its inability to overcome through illusion its own material nature. Through its illusionistic resources, painting subsumes and surpasses what is possible in sculpture: it commands all the fleeting effects of luminosity, transparency, and reflection registered by the eye in a moment of experience, rendering them in permanent form. The works of the sculptor are merely what they appear to be, but "the major cause of wonder that arises in painting is the appearance of something detached from the wall or other flat surface, deceiving subtle judgements with this effect, as it is not separated from the surface of the wall."[172]

Yet in Gaudenzio's *Chapel of the Magi*, sculpture can be seen to take over the role of foreshortening, in spectacular fashion, where the head and foreparts of horses surge out of a painted ground, contravening Leonardo's principle that painting accomplishes tactile and spatial effects entirely by its own means

4.46 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Arrival of the Magi*. 1525–28. Varallo, Sacro Monte, Chapel 5. Credit: Carlo Pozzoni.

(fig. 4.46). There is a striking sense, in the *Chapel of the Magi*, that sculpture extends the operations of painting, that a simulated third dimension moves to a literal (phenomenological) one. Vestiges of this kind of "painting in the expanded field"[173] were already implicit in the relief effects of the *tramezzo*. Until recently only a few commentators (such as Samuel Butler, writing in the 1880s)[174] recognized the artfulness of the Varallo chapels, their sophisticated anticipation of the modernist theatrical *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Rather than simply an integration of sculpture and painting in the service of what Freedberg called "folk art," Gaudenzio's tableaux are, rather, to be seen as expansions of painting beyond its quattrocento and Albertian limits—a defiance of frames or borders that integrates viewers and their tactile, dynamic, and visual involvement with the "image." Lomazzo appears to have recognized this. After commenting, as we saw, on Gaudenzio's accomplishments in painting, sculpture, and architecture in the *Chapel of the Crucifixion*, he asserts that whoever had not seen "quel sepolcro, non può dir di sapere che cosa sia pittura e qual sia la vera eccellenza di lei." Painting, in other words, was still the superintending category, notwithstanding the array of effects in different media. This was a kind of "painting" that physically enveloped its spectators, at least during the early decades of the century. Before the later interventions by Galeazzo Alessi on behalf of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo, a degree of physical interaction with the scenes and their figures was possible. Sometimes pilgrims sought to leave a physical trace of their presence, with the unofficial ritual of writing one's name and place of origin on the frescoes: many of these graffiti, bearing dates from the 1520s onward, are still visible today.[175] Alessi introduced barriers with grilles, preventing close access while allowing a more limited array of fixed perspectival views, subordinating the curiosity roused by anecdotal detail and profuse naturalistic description to what was doctrinally appropriate.[176]

Alessi finally framed Gaudenzio's ensemble as Leonardesque "painting," yet the artist's exploration of the properties of media seems to have had more of a dialectical aspect. Sculpture, at certain moments, reveals itself to be more than an outgrowth or extension of painting. The climax of the pilgrimage to Varallo was the *Chapel of the Crucifixion*, on which Gaudenzio worked between 1515 and about 1520 (fig. 4.47).[177] Preserved largely intact, this was the most daring of the ensembles, and the one with genre-defining impact on the later chapels at Varallo and elsewhere: a tumultuous drama of pious and mourning witnesses, snarling soldiers—some Roman, other apparently Turks—and grotesquely deformed executioners, all thronging around one of the bloodiest and most harrowingly mutilated Christ figures ever to appear in Italian art. In none of Gaudenzio's painted *Crucifixion*s does Christ ever bear such graphic signs of torture (it is possible that he incorporated a preexisting sculpture donated by a patron or by the Observants).[178] In the *tramezzo* in the church of the Grazie, and in the cycle at Vercelli begun in 1528, in the Corona Chapel at Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan, the crucified Christ appears, by contrast, Apollonian and serene. Here, at Varallo, the sculptural rendering of Christ's agonizingly lacerated body, with graphically depicted wounds and real hair, stands in marked contrast above all with the buoyant draperies

4.47 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Crucifixion*. 1520–23. Varallo, Sacro Monte, Chapel 38. Wooden figure of Crucified Christ with angels in fresco. Credit: Author photo.

and spinning motions of the angels depicted directly behind him on the walls, exuberantly ornamental in conception (fig. 4.47).

Beyond the differences of medium are those between the sculpted and painted figures. The latter include almost portrait-like figures in contemporary costume, with a significant number of fashionably dressed rich women with children: unlike the agonized females who surround the Virgin, these modern bystanders serenely watch the spectacle. Their detached demeanor, and even some of the facial types, recall the contemplative figures of Perugino's painting (fig. 4.48). Differences in media constitute more profound disjunctions at the order of representation, including outright anachronism: figures attired as pilgrims with staves and wide-brimmed hats mingle with Turks and infidels. Painting constitutes an outside, a decorative artificial border of the ephemeral—including the fleeting and transitory present from which the beholder witnesses the drama of the Passion—framing a true history of salvation timeless in its significance. Gaudenzio's painted figures are suggestive of optical phantasms, or *species*, but they depart

4.48 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *The Crucifixion.* Wooden figures of the Virgin, Holy Women, and St. John, with bystanders in fresco. 1520–23. Varallo, Sacro Monte, Chapel 38. Credit: Author photo.

from Leonardo's conception of the relation between the painted and the perceptual image. For Leonardo, the optical phantasm or *simolacro* was strongly three-dimensional and monochromatic; Gaudenzio's painted bodies here are brightly colored and lack strong modeling. By comparison with the sculptures, they are diaphanous, even substanceless appearances, that stand in for actual bodies by entirely different fictive means.

It is striking how Gaudenzio's painting seems less to pursue an emulation of sculptural relief than to stress two-dimensional pattern and planar surface. Rather than *paragone*, its relation to sculpture can be thought of as *parergon*, as supplement or ornament. Wielding a paintbrush, Gaudenzio never relinquishes painterly *maniera* or even *bella maniera*—whether style is understood as the signature idiom of a particular artist, or as *ornato*. For their part, the figures of wood and gesso or terracotta are confrontationally factual: beyond style, beyond the *grazia* of the modern manner. It is as if painting served to provide a kind of vivifying element, an emotive quality, which the more "factual" representations

might not possess in themselves. By analogy, we might think of the role of stylistic effects in rhetoric—the brightening or vivifying effect known as *enargeia*, which made "mere" representation more emotionally persuasive.

The goal of such simulation is not only the artistic one of surpassing the limits of particular media: it is to facilitate a devout experience of the sacred. Its aim is what lies beyond representation, which is the presence of the sacred, made visible in the sacramental body of Christ, both sign and referent of itself. The power and above all the legitimacy of the simulacrum is indicated in a late sixteenth-century painting by Cerano (now in Madrid, Museo del Prado), in which St. Carlo Borromeo apparently having a vision of the dead Christ turns out to be a historical depiction of the archbishop meditating at the shrine of the Holy Sepulcher at Varallo, of which he was a major promoter.

4.49 Lombard, *Madonna dei Miracoli*. 15th century(?). Saronno, Santuario della Madonna dei Miracoli. Credit: Author photo.

The sanctuary of Santa Maria dei Miracoli at Saronno near Milan houses a fourteenth-century terracotta statue of the Virgin that had been working prodigious cures since the mid-fifteenth century (fig. 4.49), and with a particular frequency toward the end of the 1400s, when the growth of the cult necessitated the rebuilding of the sanctuary as a centralized domed building.[179] In 1534 Gaudenzio commenced the decoration of the dome, completing a spectacular program of murals on Marian themes in the sanctuary that had been begun a decade before by Bernardino Luini, the leading painter of Milan, who had died in 1532. Here Gaudenzio repeats the system of juxtaposed media standing for orders or levels of reality that he had developed at Varallo, combining polychrome sculpture in the round with fresco painting (fig. 4.50). He also designed the sculptures *God the Father* and the *Virgin of the Assumption* (the latter modeled on the cult statue of the Madonna dei Miracoli), along with the prophets and sibyls of the niches below: these were executed under his supervision by Andrea da Milano and Alberto da Lodi. Yet painterly effects now seem more emphatic, superseding their background or framing character: the rendering of a choir of close to two hundred

4.50 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Angelic Concert, with the Assumption of the Virgin*. 1534–36. Fresco. Saronno, Santuario della Madonna dei Miracoli. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

4.51 Detail of fig. 4.50.

musician angels and infant cherubim, many playing curious and often implausible musical instruments to herald the Virgin's heavenward ascent, entailed an efflorescence of highly ornamental coloring and virtuosic perspective effects (fig. 4.51). The fully in-the-round figures, for their part, seem more literal yet lack any perspectival coordination with the painted field. As the most important objects of devotional attention, the terracottas are framed by an artificial extravagance of style that they themselves do not possess, as if conceived to be primarily referential in their effect. In their traditional gilt polychromy, the terracottas seem almost timeless as well as authorless, a quality shared by other tableaux by the same sculptors in the church: Andrea's *Lamentation* below has little to distinguish it stylistically from treatments of the subject by the di Donati workshop for San Giacomo in Como, or even from the sculptural groups created by Agostino de Fondulis in 1483 for the church of San Satiro

in Milan, the work that stands at the head of the tradition that reaches its climax with the chapels of the Sacro Monte.[180] The point here is less to stress the exaltation of painting over sculpture than to valorize the role of sculpture in the production of the sacred. The exuberant frescoes of Gaudenzio and the supremely refined mural cycle by Luini at the same site, with their unusual palette dominated by blue, white and gold, serve as grand decorative foils for the sanctuary's miracle-working statue: the terracotta Virgin (fig. 4.51).

Gaudenzio's painting seems by now to have fully detached itself from a sculptural *ars sacra*, itself correspondingly defined by the rejection of authorial initiative or the embellishments of *maniera*. His wildly variegated color does all it can to exceed the sober palettes of sculptural polychromy. In effect, the dynamic throng of musician angels in swirling draperies of rose, chartreuse, and crocus yellow, so imposing in their robust virtual presence, seem to address the tactile and the acoustic imagination.[181] It was Lomazzo, Gaudenzio's most acute critical apologist, who held that the artist's masterly command of the proportion of figures was owing to his musical training (a distinction he also extended to Michelangelo and Leonardo).[182] Yet it is not apparent that Lomazzo's Pythagorean or Vitruvian conception of harmonic proportion underlies Gaudenzio's "visual music": the proportions of the foreshortened angelic figures seem determined by the artist's empirical judgment, not by measurement. The analogy would lie instead in the affective force of color and form, which would correspond to the motions of the air or vibrations in music that were believed to produce varying effects in the beholder. (At the sanctuary, the liturgy was accompanied by the music of flutes and other instruments rather than the playing of an organ.)[183]

In fact, this is what Lomazzo recognized in his claim that Gaudenzio, of all the canonical "Seven Governors," was the artist specially gifted in his ability to render "the motions of the passions of the soul" (i moti delle passioni dell'animo). The *moti* for Lomazzo are a kind of movement appropriate to the action or temperament of a figure, which creates a consonant emotion on the part of the beholder. Such consonance is analogous to the practice of musicians, who were held to excite particular effects in the beholder through playing in different musical modes. Lomazzo compares the effective representation of a battle with "convenienti moti," capable of arousing horror and disgust, with the ancient musicians who could incite their hearers to "rage and indignation, inclined to love, to combat, to honorable deeds and other similar dispositions."[184] Angels—pure spiritual beings who operate through the element of air—are the prime vehicles for *moti* in Gaudenzio's work, which Lomazzo discusses a few pages later. He praises the *moti* of the angels (and horses) of the *Calvary* at Varallo, and then "the vault of the chapel of the Santa Corona in Milan, where angels can be seen most excellent in all their parts and principally in their *moti*, and the great dome of Santa Maria of Saronno, filled with the ranks of angels, with *moti* and draperies in every manner you could imagine and with the strangest musical instruments in their hands."[185] The chapel at Santa Maria della Pace in Milan is outstanding for its "appropriate *moti* so marvelous and excellently done that they appear to reinvigorate and to raise the spirits of anyone who sees them."

Lomazzo recognized that Gaudenzio's painting foregrounds a level of visual artifice or manner with a more than mimetic or ornamental purpose; it is only inadequately designated, as a result, by the term "style." Or, rather, it requires to be seen as a *motivation* of style beyond its conventional rhetorical and affective ends, into a *virtù motiva* that brings about palpable effects in the sensory awareness of the beholder, one normally only attainable when music acts on the soul's affinity for harmony, itself a perception of cosmic order. In this psychological remotivation of style, conceived as a force actually attuned to the beholder's inward dispositions, Gaudenzio resembles Lotto, rather than artists of Central Italy, for whom style was a principle of affiliation governed by literary codes of imitation.

Gaudenzio as City Artist

Decisive for the final phase of Gaudenzio's career was the 1530 pilgrimage to Varallo of the last duke of Milan, Francesco II Sforza, shortly after the restoration of the old regime. The new duke was making good on an unfulfilled intention of his father, Duke Ludovico il Moro, a supporter of the Sacro Monte at the time of its foundation, who had been planning a pilgrimage of his own just weeks before the collapse of his rule in 1499. Francesco appears to have been impressed by the art of Gaudenzio Ferrari, at that time working not far away at Vercelli, and in 1533 charged him with several commissions for the cathedral of Vigevano, the flagship project of his short reign.[186]

By the 1530s the boundary between Lombardy and Piedmont, stretching from Varallo and Como in the north to Vercelli and Vigevano in the south, had acquired a well-defined regional artistic identity through a dense network of altarpieces by Gaudenzio and his associates—Bernardino Lanino, Eusebio Ferrari and Gerolamo Giovenone of Vercelli, Fermo Stella of Caravaggio, Giovan Battista della Cerva and Sperindio Cagnoli of Novara—all working in a modernizing style that accentuated tender emotions and the *moti* of angels, but that tended not to recapitulate the harsh simulations of the Sacro Monte. The diffusion of the art of the *gaudenziani* occurred during decades of political upheaval in the capital and strife in the region itself as France and the empire maneuvered for control; the death of Francesco II Sforza in 1535 led to the definitive transfer of Lombardy to Habsburg hands.

With the deaths of Bramantino in 1530 and Luini in 1532, the energetic and independent "regional" art of the Valsesia was poised to establish itself in a dominant position in the metropolis. Gaudenzio in 1537 moved permanently from Vercelli to Milan to begin a final decade of extraordinary productivity. Between 1541 and 1546 nearly all commissions for paintings in Milanese churches went to the artist and his new workshop, which also supplied works for such regional sites as Cannobbio and Busto Arsizio. With a resurgence of patronage by powerful families and by corporations such as the Duomo, Gaudenzio appeared unassailable as the leading artist of the Lombard capital.[187] Thus he appeared at the shrine of Santa Maria dei Miracoli (Santa Maria presso San Celso), which—like the Certosa of Pavia under the Sforzas—was emerging as a spiritual and artistic focus with a very broad regional compass. Gaudenzio's altarpiece *Baptism of Christ* (1541) would be joined there by paint-

ings by Moretto of Brescia, Callisto Piazza of Lodi, Paris Bordone from Treviso, and Antonio Campi of Cremona.

Not for long, however. With the advent of imperial governance from 1535, following the death of the last Sforza duke, local artists had to reckon with the foreigners who received the support of the Habsburg court and its officials.[188] Giulio Romano was in town in 1541 to plan the triumphal entry of Charles V, and Titian made the first of several visits to Milan in January 1540 as a client of the governor Alfonso d'Avalos, whose portrait he painted. When in 1540 Gaudenzio accepted a commission for frescoes in the Corona Chapel at Santa Maria delle Grazie, he would have been aware that Titian had been contracted to provide the altarpiece, finally delivered and installed in February 1543. He probably also knew that Titian was to be paid two hundred ducats, four times the fee for the most costly Milanese altarpiece by Gaudenzio himself.[189]

The transformations in Gaudenzio's work in the 1540s reflect his recognition that the game had changed. Challenged only by Luini, he had been the leading representative of the modern manner at Como, Saronno, Vercelli, Arona, Novara, and other places. Now, however, he was confronted more urgently with the problem of competitive artistic ambitions, and with performing at a level of mastery that would hold its own in the capital, where the stakes had been raised. Just as Titian now represented the Venetian tradition and its enfranchisement by the emperor who ruled Milan, Gaudenzio would have encountered new patrons expecting him to acquit himself in the role of *caposcuola* of the Lombard capital.

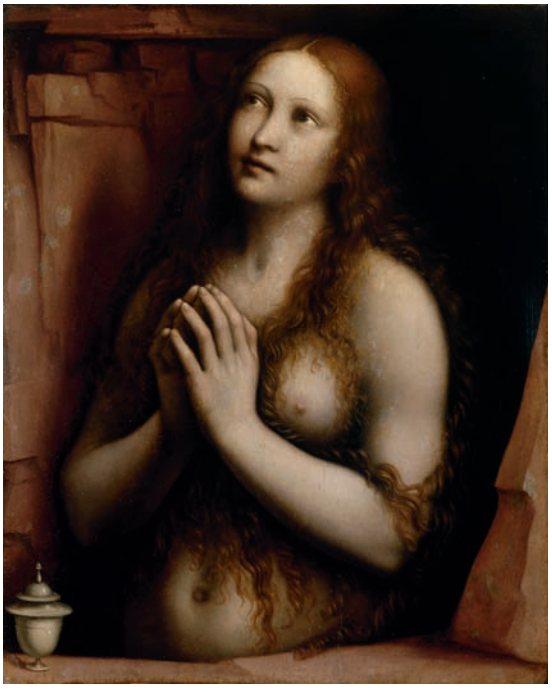
This is the predicament that gave rise to the massive and disquieting *Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (fig. 4.52) for the Gallarati Chapel in Sant'Angelo, although it was begun before Titian appeared on the horizon and completed in 1540. The work has been held in low esteem, its experimental character underappreciated. Adolfo Venturi called it "cumbersome, wooden and shrill."[190] Freedberg referred to the "heavily pretentious, stiffened *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*" as an instance of the "dark and glossy realism to which the Leonardesque tradition had degenerated."[191] It is indeed out of character with Gaudenzio's previous altarpiece paintings, although none of those had been concerned with scenes of martyrdom or violence. The exception is one earlier predella devoted to the same subject, now in the Varallo Pinacoteca, although the differences in the Sant'Angelo altarpiece are revealing (fig. 4.53).[192] The interest in vehement foreshortenings and vigorous gestures and in its ambitious rendering of anatomy show that Gaudenzio Ferrari, with his move into the metropolis, was finally attempting to take on the Leonardesque, central Italian program that his work had resisted for so long. Now, for the first time, Gaudenzio's painting emulates the foreshortenings and hard, burnished surfaces of sculpture. For the first time since the choir screen of Varallo in 1513, we see a bid to recapitulate and surpass other artists through conspicuous imitation. The seminude figure of St. Catherine is unprecedented in his work (the saint is modestly covered in the Varallo panel). This is a gesture toward recent Milanese art, a sign that Gaudenzio was now seeking to establish a relationship with Leonardo and his followers. The figure of St. Catherine is based on a work by Giampetrino showing the

4.52 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria*. 1540. On panel, 334 × 210 cm. Milan, Brera.

penitent Magdalene, a popular composition that survives in several redactions (fig. 4.54).[193] It is not improbable that Gaudenzio and his audience believed the invention to derive from a Leonardesque original. With Titian now emerging as the official artist of the Habsburg household and the imperial regime, Gaudenzio retreated from his frontier independence, assuming the mantle of the one artist from pre-Habsburg Milan who could claim international standing.[194]

Did Titian, in his own depiction of sacred

4.53 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria*. 1530(?). On panel, 33.5 × 109 cm. Varallo, Pinacoteca. Credit: Pinacoteca di Varallo.



4.54 Giampetrino, *Penitent Magdalene*. Before 1540. On panel, 49 × 39 cm. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum. Credit: © The State Hermitage Museum / Photo by Vladimir Terebenin.

violence for Santa Corona, in turn take account of Gaudenzio's painting, as the most distinctive new altarpiece in Milan (fig. 4.55)?[195] Even in his refusal of its strict symmetry, with Christ cast in profile and partly screened by his tormentors, the grouping of bodies around a passive protagonist in an oppressive and dramatically lit architectural setting seems to solicit comparison with the Sant'Angelo painting. Yet Titian challenges Gaudenzio's glassy, uniform textures with his varied brushwork, strips one of his figures to make the dynamism of a moving body more anatomically expressive, and invests Christ with charcteristics of the canonical Roman *exemplum doloris*, the Laocoön. The pronounced asymmetry may be

4.55 Titian, *Crowning with Thorns*. 1542–44. Oil on wood, 303 × 180 cm. Paris, Louvre. Credit: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

a conscious departure from Gaudenzio's fresco compositions in the same chapel: the angels with the symbols of the Passion in the vault, the *Ecce Homo* lunette, the *Crucifixion* on the walls.

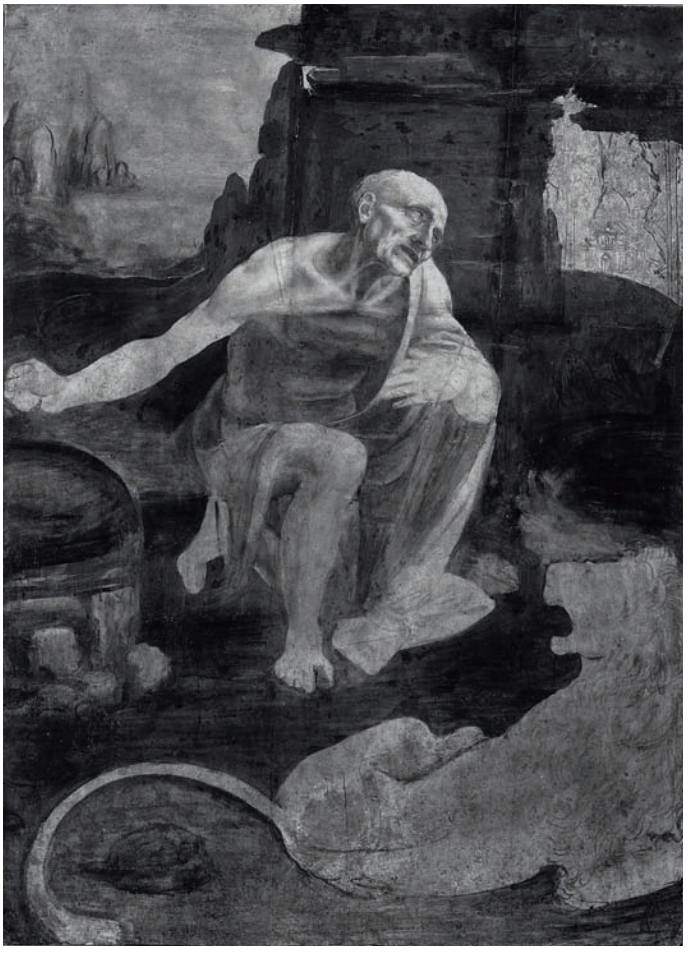
Vasari reported that having completed the Passion scenes "with figures of size of life in strange attitudes" for the Corona Chapel, Gaudenzio then produced an altarpiece in competition with Titian "for a place below that

4.56 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *St. Paul in Meditation*. 1542. On panel, 200 × 147 cm. Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon. Credit: © Lyon MBA—Photo Alain Basset.

chapel, in which, though he was very confident, he did not surpass the works of the others who had labored in that place."[196] That altarpiece, a *St. Paul in Meditation* for the Cannobio Chapel (fig. 4.56), is mainly notable for its conspicuous nonengagement with Titian: Gaudenzio answers the Venetian's painterly bravura with tightly rendered surfaces. Meticulous description of the interior setting confronts the obscure carceral nonplace of Titian's painting:

dramatic action is located elsewhere, in the background landscape of monumental ruins, where the familiar drama of Paul's conversion is enacted by diminutive figures. The decision to deemphasize the turbulent events on the road to Damascus probably came from the patron, although this is not specified in the contract, which merely called for a statue or painting of the saint that would be "artifitiosa et laudabile."[197] Perhaps it was Gaudenzio who resolved to forgo the depiction of action, enabling his work to assume an oppositional relation to Titian's altarpiece. Something else was given up in the process, however. Resisting Titian's bravura theatrical effects meant that now in his painting, as before in his sculptures, Gaudenzio was jettisoning the resources of style. In other words, the *St. Paul in Meditation* is devoid of the *moti* for which Gaudenzio's work would chiefly be praised by Lomazzo.

4.57 Gaudenzio Ferrari, with Giovanni Battista della Cerva, *St. Jerome with Paolo della Croce*. 1546. On panel, 263 × 176 cm. Milan, San Giorgio al Palazzo.



4.58 Leonardo da Vinci, *St. Jerome*. c. 1480. Oil on wood, 103 × 75 cm. Vatican, Pinacoteca. Scala / Art Resource, NY.

With the *St. Paul*, Gaudenzio left himself little room for maneuver. In the same years (1541–43), for the Trivulzio Chapel at Santa Maria della Pace, he produced a spare and restrained narrative art. Compositionally adventurous and lighter in palette, the manner comes close to the late Luini or to the now-prominent Brescian painter Moretto. In one final transmutation, Gaudenzio takes a dramatic step further away from his career-long resistance to Leonardo. He assumes the mantle of the Tuscan artist in his late *St. Jerome* for the chapel of Paolo della Croce in San Giorgio in Palazzo (fig. 4.57). Unusual for Gaudenzio in its attention to the anatomy of a naked moving figure, the work is an elaborate reworking of Leonardo's unfinished *St. Jerome*, often thought to have been executed in Florence, but increasingly now seen as a product of Leonardo's early Milanese years (c. 1480; fig. 4.58).[198] It provides important testimony that the work was known in Milan, and that it was perhaps still there in 1545. Still, this is a highly original approach to Leonardo, one that owes little to treatments of the subject by his more conventional followers.[199] For the della Croce, like other old families who identified with the lost Sforza era, being Milanese was what mattered now. For Gaudenzio, his independent, noncitational approach, developed far from the city over several decades, was no longer enough in the new, jostling artistic culture of Milan, where local artists confronted by foreigners competed to formulate ways of "being Lombard" according to a widening range of canonical options. Style now was about citation, the negotiation of a canon, before it could be about musicality.

Vasari's neglect of Lombardy (he seems never to have set foot in Milan) may ultimately have been productive. As with Lombardy as a whole, a single "Milanese School" never coalesced, even with the imposed institutional uniformity of the epoch of Carlo Borromeo. In their different ways, both Lomazzo and Federico Borromeo, the archbishop's nephew and founder of the Ambrosian Academy, were advocates for a pluralist, even pan-Italian basis for local artistic practice. Milan, even under foreign domination and by now a provincial capital, remained in this sense a "world city." Caravaggio—far from being the end product of a characteristically Lombard "realist" strain—was the outcome of such pluralism, and Gaudenzio Ferrari was one of several artists from whom he learned. It is therefore telling that in 1600 Federico Zuccari, on seeing Caravaggio's recently completed paintings for San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, professed to find nothing there "except the conception [*pensiero*] of Giorgione."[200] Italian art was ever more intractably organized around the poles of Venice and Rome.

5 *Brescia and Bergamo, 1520–50*

Sacred Naturalism and the Place of the Eucharist

> Battista Suardi, his wife Orsolina and his sister Paolina have wished, to obey a vow, that Christ be painted here by Lorenzo Lotto with the pious ones born from the vine of Christ, and the sufferings of St. Barbara and her cruel death at the hands of her father for the sake of Christ, A.D. 1524.
> —inscription in the Oratorio Suardi, Trescore

The altarpieces commissioned from the 1540s onward for the ambulatory of Santa Maria presso San Celso in Milan can be understood as a programmatic attempt to display the varied manners of painters from the Lombard region, loosely enough defined to include Paris Bordone from the Veneto, and without regard to political borders. The heterogeneity of north Italian painting, together with Vasari's neglect of the region (he had been to Parma and Mantua but relied on secondhand accounts of art in Milan and elsewhere) have given rise to a scholarly invention of "Lombard art" as an organic and autochthonous phenomenon, a robust dialectical alternative to the Venetian and Tuscan-Roman Schools. For Longhi, this "realist" tradition was particularly visible in Brescia and Bergamo, beginning in

the late quattrocento with Vincenzo Foppa and continuing into the eighteenth century with the genre paintings of Giacomo Ceruti. As with the broader Lombard tradition, it was characterized by an "inveterate . . . tendency to naturalism," further unified, in Longhi's view, "by the vital essence of the old indigenous style . . . Romanesque and Gothic."[1] Caravaggio's emergence in late sixteenth-century Milan is still regularly seen as the central explanatory event for more than a century of previous developments, reaching their grand destiny in the artist whose controversial naturalism would transform European painting.

While conceding that some aspects of Renaissance painting might be aptly characterized as descriptive naturalism, albeit found in Lombard painters who are stylistically quite distinct, this chapter explores the tendency as a rhetorical strategy that arises in response to specific historical urgencies and preoccupations, particularly the controversial status of the preeminently material form of the sacred from the 1520s onward: the Eucharist. If there is a regional consciousness in Brescian art, for instance, it is born of local preoccupations and ideological concerns, a political and religious drive to revitalize a community after an experience of catastrophic rupture culminating in mass violence in 1513 and centered on the Eucharist as a paradigm.

Lorenzo Lotto is among the earliest artists active in the region to register this preoccupation, and I have already suggested that Gaudenzio was, too, farther to the west but known in Bergamo and to Lotto. In 1523–24 Lotto was called on to decorate a liturgical-devotional space that shared some of the immersive and enveloping qualities of the chapels at Varallo: a modest oratory at Trescore Balneario, on the country estate of the Bergamasco noble Battista Suardi.[2] Mindful of the example of Gaudenzio at the Sacro Monte, the Trescore murals have a radical and unsettling character that seems determinedly out of step with painting in Lotto's native Venice or in Rome, where Lotto had worked in the Stanze of Raphael more than a decade before.

On the main wall of the oratory, facing the entrance, a startling manifestation of Christ as Mystical Vine towers over a panoramic townscape in which scenes from the legend of St. Barbara are enacted in a series of architectural settings and open-air spaces (fig. 5.1). The story of St. Brigid of Ireland, along with scenes from the last days of Sts. Catherine and Mary Magdalene, appear on the other walls (figs. 5.2, 5.3). On the main wall, the landscape that rises beyond the town to Christ's right—the setting for Barbara's flight and finally her execution—closely follows the profile of a hill just to the north of the Suardi property. The narrative is thus localized far more explicitly than any of Lotto's comparable works in the Marches or the Veneto. Lotto's practice here recalls Gaudenzio Ferrari's in the *Chapel of the Crucifixion*, where the landscape includes a view of the Sacro Monte, as if seen from the point of view of pilgrims approaching the site from a distance. As a setting for a series of heroic and horrifying events, designed to leave a powerful impression on the memory of beholders, the physical landscape would thereafter evoke for devout viewers (the Suardi household, workers on the estate and their families) the topography depicted on the walls of the oratory.[3]

The scenes of the Passion of St. Barbara conduct the viewer on a mental pilgrimage

5.1 Lorenzo Lotto, Frescoes in the Oratorio Suardi, detail: *The Christ Vine and Scenes from the Legend of St. Barbara*. 1523. Trescore Balneario (Bergamo). Credit: Pro Loco Trescore Balneario.

5.2 Lorenzo Lotto, Frescoes in the Oratorio Suardi, detail: *Scenes from the Legend of St. Brigid of Ireland*. 1523. Trescore Balneario (Bergamo). Credit: Pro Loco Trescore Balneario.

5.3 Lorenzo Lotto, Frescoes in the Oratorio Suardi, detail: *The Last Communion of the Magdalene; The Martyrdom of St. Catherine*. 1523. Trescore Balneario (Bergamo). Credit: Pro Loco Trescore Balneario.

through a series of miniature palaces, loggias, and open spaces. The saint defies her ruthless pagan father and spits on the idol of Jupiter; she is stripped, hung by her feet, and broken with hammers. Miraculously cured by Christ in her cell, she survives only to undergo even worse humiliation and mutilation, and is finally decapitated on the distant hill—following which heavenly fire destroys her executioners. The saint's little white dog follows her faithfully, while also forming a kind of cursor for the moving eye of the observer.

Led by her tormentors through the marketplace, Barbara is regarded by a group of sorrowful women in contemporary costume. They are clear descendants of the matrons from the Calvary frescoes at Varallo (fig. 4.48), although the escalation of violence has led to a corresponding increase in their emotional response. Perhaps Lotto found the impassivity of the corresponding figures at Varallo to be incongruous. In any case, they serve a more obviously participatory and choric function here.

It is not just the blatant carnage of the narrative that creates such an unsettling and memorable impact. The first pictorial element seen by the beholder, framed by the doorway, is the confrontational figure of Christ, his fingers extended in trails of blood and eventually in grapevines; grouped around his feet are members of the Suardi family. The "True Vine" of John 15:5, "I am the vine, you the branches" (Ego sum vitis, vos [estis] palmites), is presented with a degree of literalness that seems almost outlandish in Italian art in the 1520s. Further illustrating this text, a series of saints—doctors, martyrs, founders of orders—appear in the branches that sprout from Christ's fingers. The vine's burgeoning

5.4 Lorenzo Lotto, Frescoes in the Oratorio Suardi, detail: Ceiling with vine-harvesting boys. 1523. Trescore Balneario (Bergamo).

growth, extending over the simple wooden vault, makes the oratory into a fictive vineyard, linking it further to its agrarian setting. A joyous horde of naked child harvesters celebrate its fruitfulness along with its already intoxicating (and diuretic) effects, while brandishing scrolls with verses quoted or adapted from scripture: "Et vinum laeti ficet cor hominis" (And wine makes glad the heart of man; Ps. 103:15); "Venite bibite cum laeticia qui in tristicia fuistis" (Come drink with happiness you who were sad; adapted from Isa. 55:1) (fig. 5.4).

Christ appears here not according to the conditions of naturalism, as "portrait" or historical representation, but as a *figura*, a fictive image, its very monstrosity pointing to its rich significance.[4] Lotto underscores the symbolic and mediated character of the Christ image by adapting the figure from—of all things—Raphael's *Transfiguration*, completed just before the artist's death in 1520 and clearly already known to Lotto (fig. 5.5). Not for the first time in his career, Lotto stages a deliberately coarsened travesty of a prominent artist in Rome. The flat, schematic character of Lotto's figure by comparison with its model suggests

5.5 Raphael, *Transfiguration*. 1519. On panel, 410 × 279 cm. Rome, Vatican Gallery. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

the very remoteness of the Christian capital. It also pointedly contrasts with the anecdotal and violent naturalism of the historical scenes that surround it on the walls of the oratory. The nonliteral imaging of Christ is offset by lively narratives, showing acts of the saints in vividly realized locations with rich incidental detail: before our eyes unfold not only miracles and ordeals but events in streets and marketplaces, pastures and churches, scenes of shepherds, bird catchers, contemporary Swiss mercenaries, and (in the person of Barbara's sadistic father), murderous, turbaned infidels.

The mural with the Christ-Vine is often seen as an example of provincial regression to an "archaic religious heraldry" or as the adoption by Lotto of "*popolano*" didactic imagery.[5] In this regard it has been considered akin to Garofalo's contemporary *Allegory of the Old and New Testaments* at Sant'Andrea in Ferrara.[6] Yet the treatment of such allegorical imagery as characteristic of the "periphery" (indeed, as a symptom of peripheral status) ignores the fact that a similar allegorical code had been employed by Polidoro da Caravaggio and his collaborator Maturino Fiorentino very recently in Rome itself, on the façade of the Collegio Capranica, which included

> a draped figure of Rome representing the Faith, and holding the Chalice and the Host in her hands, who has taken captive all the nations of the earth; and all mankind is flocking up to bring her tribute, while the Turks, overcome at the last, are shooting arrows at the tomb of Mahomet; all ending in the words of Scripture, "There shall be one fold and one Shepherd."[7]

Lotto's mural, like the contemporary allegories in Rome and Ferrara, was motivated by a mounting crisis of confessional identity, one of the effects of which was a need to reimagine local and particular identities in relation to larger ones: the Roman Church, Christendom, Italy, transalpine heresy, Islam. All three cycles present an argument that could not be formulated other than by visual means, through a *poeisis* that draws on the productive power of the Eucharist—the symbol most at stake in the

unfolding schism, the sacred object believed to be under threat from enemies outside Italy and more sinister, proximate, hidden adversaries. The Trescore murals visualize a particular anxiety informing the contemporary institutional drive to defend, define, and regulate the Eucharist—countering the risks attending its very reproducibility, its ubiquity, its potential placelessness.[8] In this staging of a Eucharistic polemic, the rural location of the cycle can be seen to have important implications.

The year is 1524. Charismatic reformers inspired by Martin Luther have incited the peasants to war in Germany, the city of Zurich under the guidance of Ulrich Zwingli has abolished the Mass, and episodes of iconoclasm are recorded throughout Germany and in Switzerland. The very theology of the Eucharist, along with its liturgical and devotional traditions, has become socially and geographically divisive.[9] The people of Bergamo have an acute sense of their proximity to such events; the city is one day's journey from Swiss territory, and it is reported that pro-Lutheran mercenaries are menacing its hinterland. At the same time, the fragile, assailable sacrament was exposing fractures between city and countryside, in addition to divisions of class and gender. Well before the confessional disputes, the sacrament and its mishandling by the laity had become a matter of pastoral concern. As Church reformers and inquisitors had long noted with alarm, the Eucharist was regarded in the countryside as a medicine and a magical fetish that warded off destructive weather and healed barrenness of both the earth and animals.[10] Authorities were troubled by the custom, in rural parishes, of treating the Eucharist like a miraculous relic—as in the so-called blessings of the airs, the practice of carrying the Host into the fields on feasts such as the Ascension, Corpus Christi, or Rogation Days, or the use of the Host as a form of talismanic protection against fire. Papal concern regarding the feeding of the Host to animals dates back to the early fourteenth century; St. Bernardino of Siena had denounced the use of the Host as a cure for fevers and flux, but apparently not effectively, as the superstition was still being proscribed in Catholic synods in the 1600s.[11] The Inquisition in Bologna prosecuted a number of clerics for necromantic practices, some of them involving the abuse of the Eucharist: in 1508 a friar was executed for sacrificing to the Devil, trampling on the Cross, and feeding consecrated Hosts to a rooster.[12] The vulnerability of the Eucharist led to increasing concern about defining its proper place—the sacrament altar—and the conditions and protocols about its removal from there.[13] Such concerns seem to have come to a head with the identification of a new set of enemies to the north.

The 1520s saw the widening of a movement to establish Eucharistic confraternities throughout northern Italy, where they flourished in such Lombard cities as Brescia and Bergamo. Suardi was one of the founders, in 1511, of the Scuola del Corpo di Cristo at San Michele al Pozzo Bianco in Bergamo (where Lotto executed a cycle of murals for the Confraternity of the Virgin, which involved many of the same members).[14] Mainly devoted to the veneration of the Eucharist in its stable, permanent location on the sacrament altar, the confraternities also accompanied the Host when it was conveyed by a priest to the bedside of persons being given last rites, or in collective civic processions for the feast of Corpus

Christi, or in times of emergency—as in Bergamo in January 1524, following months of bad weather, flooding, and an outbreak of plague, when the Venetian Podestà and the city council ordered three days of solemn processions of laity and clergy, all invoking divine aid against "malis, periculis et infortuniis."[15]

In 1496, in another part of the Venetian territory, an instance of illicit migration of the Eucharist from the church to the fields and the woods had led to an inquiry by the Dominican Master General, in the presence of the Patriarch of Venice, and with the participation of Heinrich Kramer, the famous Dominican antiwitchcraft activist and author of *Malleus maleficarum*. The matter to be addressed, according to Kramer's biographers, concerned some recent troubling events near Padua (although the actual location is controversial):[16] a man gathering wood had discovered two pyxes containing Hosts, stolen from a nearby church. Once informed, the local priest did not replace the Hosts in the church but had a kind of rustic shrine constructed around the containers. Local people came in throngs to the spot: "candles were lighted; people cried that Christ was present and adored him." Once informed of these goings-on, the bishop of Padua had the shrine destroyed and the decomposing Hosts borne away: "It was forbidden, under pain of ecclesiastical censure and excommunication, for anyone to visit that spot again or to worship there. . . . Certain priests preached that the people had committed idolatry by what they had done and asserted that they had worshiped mildew, trees, brambles, and the devil."[17] Kramer, it seems, approved of the action by the Church authorities: while it may have been unclear to the priest exactly what principle of canon law had been violated, asserting jurisdiction over the Eucharist was likely to have been the primary concern of the hierarchy.[18]

Such concerns regarding authority over the sacraments, and the places where that authority could be weakened, were voiced in 1517 in a treatise addressed by the Venetian humanist Gaspare Contarini (later famous as a reforming cardinal) to the new bishop of Bergamo. The practice by Venice of allowing major benefices in its territories to be filled only by its own citizens had recently led to the seventeen-year-old patrician Pietro Lippomano being appointed to the office. Lippomano sought Contarini's advice, and the latter responded with *De officio viri boni et probi episcopi*.[19]

While assenting to a "medical" understanding of the Eucharist, Contarini insisted that this was no more than an analogy, since the Eucharist is operative on the soul.[20] The sacred order of priesthood is defined by the power of consecrating the Eucharist, yet that sacred order has, according to Contarini, been compromised by the ordination of ambitious and unlearned men, who are "daily handling with their soiled hands and filthy mind the ineffable sacrament of Christ's body."[21] Much of the treatise is concerned with the need to combat the vices of impiety, defined by Contarini as a deficiency of religion, and of superstition—the "sin" of "too much religion." Superstition is the much more pernicious of the two sins, since it entails failure in "true worship of the one God and of Jesus Christ" (unius Dei ac Jesu Christi verum cultum). Anticipating the concerns of later Catholic reformers like Matteo Giberti of Verona, Contarini saw superstition in the proliferation of cults of the saints:[22]

> Often times Christians seem to me to be imitating the religion of pagans, so far do they fall away from the purity of divine worship. For we make ourselves a god of fever and a god of pestilence, a goddess of glaucoma and of eye disease. The peasants also set up gods for cows, sheep and grains. I pass over women, for whom nothing is without superstition! What shall I say about so many fake miracles and the countless other snares for money? What about the fact that the masses [*vulgo*] indiscriminately accept apocryphal writings and certain newly discovered items with the same authority as the canonical scriptures? I skip certain divine prayers which they single out so that some may heal fever, some pestilence, some headaches.[23]

Those experiencing hard luck or poor health tend not to direct their prayers to God, but "they all immediately exasperate the saints, or rather the statues of the saints, with all of their prayers," neglecting the command of Christian piety that

> God be worshiped in spirit and in truth and that God is to be loved in all things and that all things because of God so that not only no action but not even any thought of ours should exist which is not finally referred to God, in whom is the highest unity to which all the countless pursuits and multiple thoughts of human beings should be joined into one, so that we are both one with him and one with another.[24]

Women are designated as the primary vehicles of superstition, but the countryside of the farmers and herdsmen is its preeminent locus. The inventor of superstitions is like a bird catcher ("harum inventores, quibus superstitio novum quoddam aucupium est"); while many are found in cities, far more are found traveling around the villages and country places trying to catch ignorant peasants in their snares through fraud and trickery: "They concoct the divinity of the cows and sheep and vineyards and grains."[25]

Although considerable research has been done on the relationship of Lotto's imagery to devotional and theological literature, the relevance of Contarini's pastoral text has thus far not been considered. It is certainly not the kind of "source" that satisfies the kinds of correspondence pursued by iconographers.[26] It might appear, for instance, that the emphasis in the paintings on the devotions of women and on the cult of female saints might directly contradict Contarini's injunctions. Yet therein lies the correspondence. The imagery responds to but also rewrites Contarini's text: it addresses the same cluster of preoccupations while tacitly accommodating some of the beliefs and practices that he rejects. Or, rather, while appearing conciliatory with the orthodoxy of Contarini and his ilk, the imagery works to negotiate an autonomous sacrality of a place. In this case, the place is an extra-urban location, one that resists total definition in the terms of centralized authority (and one associated with a patron's landed wealth).

Lotto's painting is bordered like a manuscript page with the imagery of sacred authority and tradition. The vine directly issuing from Christ's fingers turns into a border of medallion portraits: male and female saints and founders of religious orders. Augustine

and Jerome tackle the heretics who are cast down as they try to assail the heavenly company of the saints, perhaps reflecting an antiheretical understanding of a verse in the Song of Songs that appears in the ceiling: "Catch the foxes for us, the little foxes that are ruining the vineyards, while our vineyards are in blossom."[27] What, then, of the proliferation of hagiographic narrative on either side of Christ and across the other walls of the oratory? Here, there is also a principle of connection at work, but the viewer must supply the terms of the relation. The female saints, the beholder might say, are "like" Christ, or they "imitate" Christ, or perhaps in some way they also participate in Christ: still, a hierarchical structure is maintained that is consonant with Contarini's strictures. All the saints in diverse ways express or transmit the person of Christ, and he is emphatically presented as the axis or pivot around which the entire ensemble turns: "in whom," to cite Contarini once again, "is the highest unity to which all the countless pursuits and multiple thoughts of human beings should be joined into one, so that we are both one with him and one with another." The vine itself is a kind of binding force, and there is no risk that the cult of the saints will lose its rooteedness in the arborescent, generative figure of Christ. Just as Christ binds the universal to the particular, so his unifying image links the local to the universal.

The fruitful vine is useful as a diagram, a map of connectedness, but of course it is Christ's blood, and its Eucharistic dispensation as consecrated wine, that finally governs the imagery, where there is always the potential for a more powerful symbolic register of flow, fungibility, and transformation.[28] By this means we see the operations associated with the Eucharist translated into bodily acts and performances unfolding in a "real" world, or at least one that resembled the world of the Suardi and the original beholders. The Passions of Catherine and Barbara manifest the Eucharist's character as sacrifice; the Magdalene, subsisting on Hosts in the wilderness, exemplifies its nature as spiritual and physical nourishment. St. Brigid of Ireland, making a rare appearance in Italian Renaissance art, is present because the benefits for which she is invoked—protection from lightning storms and hail, the welfare of farm animals—correspond to the widespread but unofficial lore about the Eucharist (note also her quasi-Eucharistic conversion of water into beer). The association between the Eucharist and two of the female saints here may have a more specific resonance, especially with regard to disturbing events in recent years over the Alps to the north. In 1509 four Dominican monks were executed in Bern for faking Eucharistic miracles such as bleeding Hosts and the stigmata, and for staging fraudulent apparitions of St. Barbara, St. Catherine (of Siena), and the Virgin. The so-called Jetzer affair received wide coverage through the printing press, including a pamphlet with woodcuts ascribed to Niklaus Manual Deutsch.[29]

The historical episodes, then, are all concretizations of the Eucharist itself—of its merits and its benefits, of its role in sustaining the lives of human beings. Through this human, embodied, and female agency, which connects the shed blood of the martyrs with Eucharistic blood, the Mystical Vine is translated into the

realm of the historical, the concrete, and the everyday. The gushes of blood in the scenes of the torture and martyrdom of St. Barbara on the principal wall are clear analogies for the life-giving blood of Christ, which streams from his fingers and eventually takes the form of a vine. There is also the possibility that we are to recognize the link between the Christ-Vine and the saintly protagonists as grounded in something more than analogy—rather, a vital connection, an actual genealogy of blood.

Such associations lie in a long tradition of charismatic holy women whose bodies performed like that of Christ or of stigmatics who bled like the Hosts of Eucharistic miracles. Chief among these is St. Catherine of Siena; more recently and closer at hand were Lucia Broccadelli da Narni in Ferrara, Osanna Andreasi of Mantua, and the still-living Stephana de Quinzanis of nearby Brescia.[30] Beyond the controversial miracles of the stigmata and the bleeding Host, a mystical tradition identified women with corporeality, fertility, food, and nurture, which was also a form of Eucharistic mirroring. The scene of Brigid's profession as a nun, where, following the legend, the wooden steps of the altar burst into flowering plants, echoes the joyous imagery of the ceiling and through similitude affirms the fertility of the Eucharist. The bodies of the saints and the mystical body of Christ have the capacity to cause matter itself to become vibrantly active and alive. "The holy woman," writes Caroline Bynum, "became God's body. . . . The somatic changes women underwent parallel to a striking extent the savors, aromas, marks and alterations that occur in the consecrated host." Bynum goes on to stress that the Eucharist as symbol does not determine uniform modes of behavior: "just as women's food practices manipulated their environment with divergent and unpredictable results, so women's attempts to imitate Christ, to *become* the suffering and feeding body on the cross, issued in a wide variety of life stories."[31]

I will show later that the Eucharist, as a problem in artistic representation, comes to be at the center of an efflorescence of pictorial naturalism in northern Italy in the mid-sixteenth century. The Eucharist is an abstraction, a symbol, but also a real presence. Through the figuration of the Eucharist, a highly "materialist" form of pictorial realism, grounded not only in the particulars of the local and the everyday but also in its physical substance, acquires a special charge. I shall propose later that the Eucharistic paradigm and various modes of pictorial naturalism stand in a mutually reinforcing relationship. Furthermore, I shall show that the Eucharist motivated artists in the neighboring city of Brescia—namely, Alessandro Bonvicino, known as Moretto (a painter in contact with Lotto, and who also worked in Bergamo),[32] and Romanino—to revise and transform new canonical visual models emanating from Rome and Venice, especially those bearing the names Raphael and Titian.[33]

Lotto's patron Battista Suardi had a particular investment in the character of place: while he wrote Latin and vernacular verse and maintained a network of literary contacts across northern Italy, Baptista Mantuanus and Panfilo Sassi among them, he was also listed by Giangiorgio Trissino along with the Paduan Il Ruzzante and the Sienese Lo Strascino

as one of the writers in the "rustic tongue"—presumably in this case the dialect of Bergamo.[34] The oratory reflects this dual identity: if Suardi and his extended family are portrayed here in all their urbane finery as though they have just arrived in the rural setting from the city, other aspects of the imagery, with saintly acts of charity and exemplary fortitude conducted in urban and rural surroundings, and with the Magdalene standing for the virtues of eremitical withdrawal from the world, suggest he may have been conversant with the ethos of reform among sectors of the patrician clergy in Venice, Gaspare Contarini among them.[35]

The Eucharist and the new forms of its depiction by Lotto, Moretto, Romanino, and others can be considered as mutually reinforcing productions of sacred places. Varallo, as we have seen, was a *locus sacer* and destination of pilgrims largely because of the art that could be seen there, rather than traditional holy objects, such as relics. This was possible because, in strictly orthodox terms, it was the pilgrim's pious exercise of devotion, and his or her inward disposition, that gave pilgrimage its efficacy. The Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ, was the supreme holy substance: it showed no favoritism with regard to place.[36] The devout did not have to seek in Rome, Jerusalem, or Compostela that which was available, following the right protocols, in their own parish church. The Eucharist could sanctify a simple oratory in a cornfield, although here it was the role of art to make that sacredness apparent, to mark the Oratorio Suardi as a destination—effectively, as a place. Thus, a little chapel like the oratory of Trescore could facilitate pious detours from the routines of secular life on the part of the devout. It happens that one of the few surviving poems by Battista Suardi concerns the principle of the allegorical journey, of life itself as a pilgrimage:

> Life is a road, and the end of the road is either the highest good or eternal fire: traveller, beware the journey. Be careful, I say,
> for it is a narrow and slippery route, and
> you bear treasures of earthenware and glass.
> But proceed cautiously if the weight
> is lighter, and if these lands seem peaceful
> and faithful. Thus learned in the dangers
> of the world's roads, at sunset seek shelter.
> In doing this, with the world and the snares
> of the enemy overcome, the highest good
> will be at the ends of the ways.[37]

Correspondingly, the countryside was perceived as a place of menace and risk, where—as Contarini also bears witness—the enemy's work was being accomplished. With Contarini's and Suardi's texts in mind, one feature of the oratory decoration appears in a particularly disturbing light: the alleged self-portrait of Lotto, often identified as the bust-length figure of a bird catcher, carrying an owl and a bird trap, above the doorway (fig. 5.6). Contarini had explicitly characterized the nomadic heretics and propagators of superstition as an *aucupium*, a bird catcher: it is hard not to see the sidelong, baleful glance of Lotto's figure as reflecting the same sinister characterization of the heretic as one who sets nets and snares. If the figure were "just" a bird catcher, why such prominence? He must signal that while Augustine and Jerome combat their heretical adversaries who tumble from the ladders on either side of the Christ-Vine, their latter-day counterparts are still at large, out of reach of

5.6 Lorenzo Lotto, Frescoes in the Oratorio Suardi, detail: Bird trapper. 1523. Trescore Balneario (Bergamo). Credit: Pro Loco Trescore Balneario.

the ritualized order—sustained by Church, laity, and government—of the cities.

One scholar accepts that this is Lotto's self-portrait even as she glosses the owl with reference to the *Hexameron* of St. Ambrose, in which false believers are compared to owls who see only in darkness and not in the light of day.[38] If this is Lotto, such a self-portrayal would betoken an ironic and anxious relation of the painter to his own work: simultaneously acknowledging while disavowing the fictions of art, insinuating that art itself, like heresy, might be a snare for the credulous (as Contarini indeed suggests with his disparaging of the naïve veneration of images of the saints). Although claims for Lotto's self-identification as a Protestant have failed to convince, it is not for nothing that an entire scholarly industry has been invested in demonstrating his ambiguous relation to heterodox religious thought.[39]

Eucharistic Heterotopias in Lombardy: Romanino at Pisogne

The Eucharist and Eucharistic imagery had been exploited locally for its site-generating potential at least a century before. Writing of the monumental patronage of Cardinal Branda Castiglione at the village of Castiglione d'Olona (roughly halfway between Bergamo and Varallo) in the 1430s and its embellishment with paintings and reliefs of the Resurrection and the Man of Sorrows, Jâs Elsner observes: "Castiglione Olona is effectively and above all a Resurrection-inflected and Eucharistic topography; its depictions of sites, its Christological emphasis, its images' self-conscious play with framing (that is, their very nature as 'mere' or empty images) were above all to be cashed out for the worshipper in the reality of the consecrated Host as the material and ingestible site of Christ's actual presence."[40] Site is also produced, in Elsner's analysis, not just through the "everywhere and now here" of the Resurrected Christ but through pointed iconographic and typological evocations of two distant urban locations: one in Pavia, where the cardinal had endowed a college with provision for twenty-four scholars; the other, even farther away, his titular basilica of San Clemente in Rome, for

whose decoration the painters (Masolino and Vecchietta) were recruited from Florence and Siena, and the sculptors appear to have been Lombard or possibly transalpine.

The self-memorializing patronage of important prelates a century later often replaces older Eucharistic typologies (the Man of Sorrows or Pietà) with experimental, and even vanguard images of the Eucharistic body of Christ. We might think of Rosso's *Dead Christ* (a modernizing variation of a traditional "Angel Pietà") for Borgo Sansepolcro or Lotto's great *Crucifixion* for Bishop Niccolò Buonafede at Monte San Giusto (fig. 4.25). Lotto's Christ-Vine at Trescore suggests that even for secular patrons, the older Eucharistic iconographies no longer carried sufficient charge, that new visual strategies to convey the vitality and efficacy of the Eucharist were necessary.

In positing this conjoined potential of art and the Eucharist to produce rural locations as *loca sacra*, I am aware of the risks of overstatement. A decade later, in 1534, when the "homini di Pisogne" contracted the Brescian painter Girolamo Romanino to decorate their communal church of Santa Maria della Neve, high in the mountains over the Val Camonica and several days' journey from the nearest city, they are unlikely to have thought of themselves as trying to found a new pilgrimage destination, but the expression of Pisogne as a place, defined in relation to others, was at stake (fig. 5.7).[41] There were political and economic motivations for a relatively ambitious commission, arising from the place of Pisogne on the periphery of Brescian territory and its attempts to negotiate relative autonomy from Brescia through direct appeals to Venice, which had already recognized its communal status and granted tax exemptions in the late fifteenth century.[42] The development of mining interests resulted in a growth in prosperity, facilitated by the town's position on a major Alpine thoroughfare, the Via Valeriana. Yet the fact that the church takes its dedication from Santa Maria Maggiore in faraway Rome, a key destination among Roman pilgrimage sites where the Virgin was venerated as Our Lady of the Snows, suggests that to the people of Pisogne their remoteness from Rome or even Brescia had become a distinction, a potential for holiness, that facilitated the production of communal identity. Rome, distantly mirrored here, is once again the symbolic anchor for a conception of place. Yet Rome's recent historical fortunes must now also have played a role: the sack of the city in 1527 seemed like a violation of cosmic order, an undoing of symbolic hierarchies of location. This was a time when the fortunes of major cities seemed precarious: Brescia had been sacked in 1513, and in 1529 was menaced again by the troops of Charles V, who in 1525 had wrested Milan from the French. As Romanino was completing his extraordinary mural cycle in 1535, the last Sforza ruler of Milan died, and the great capital of Lombardy became a provincial seat of the empire. Pisogne itself bore the brunt of power struggles between Brescia and Venice: the town was raked over by the Inquisition, as part of its campaign to ferret out the witches who allegedly infested the Val Camonica: a mass condemnation of supposed witches had taken place there in 1518. Such persecutions drove a further wedge between the *communi* of the Bresciano and the city itself, since Venice on several occasions attempted to intervene on behalf of the victims.[43]

5.7 Girolamo Romanino, Frescoes in S. Maria della Neve, detail: Prophets and sibyls. 1530s. Pisogne. Credit: Alfredo Dagli Orti / Art Resource, NY.

As a vaulted, aisleless space, the chapel of Santa Maria della Neve suggests further connections to Rome, and to the papal chapel in particular. Here, too, prophets, sibyls, and Old Testament personalities in emphatic relief gesticulate from the vault, along with putti in grisaille. The scrolls of about half of these still bear legible inscriptions, mostly scriptural texts referring to life-giving wood and fruit-bearing trees, all clearly proleptic of the wood of the Cross. A similar theme is emphatically present in the imagery of the Sistine Chapel, and we might note a recurrence of the arboreal imagery of the Suardi oratory. In their energy and urgency, Romanino's inspired figures acknowledge their counterparts on the vault of the papal chapel, while utterly rejecting their idealizing proportions and sculptural anatomies (fig. 5.8). That this is knowing and deliberate on Romanino's part is suggested by the works he had recently completed in the palace of the prince bishop of Trent, where he decorated a garden loggia with a series of athletic and energetic nudes: once again these allude to, without quoting, Michelangelo, while being more emphatically about the ungainly and humorous predicament of "real" bodies enacting strenuous poses.[44] Political opposition to Rome was a charged issue in the imperial city of Trent—Dosso Dossi had even offered

5.8 Girolamo Romanino, Frescoes in S. Maria della Neve. 1530s. Pisogne. Credit: Author photo.

to paint a scene of Rome's chastisement in the palace—but in Pisogne the ungainly presence of the body, materialized further with the artist's paint medium so visibly daubed and smeared on the walls, seems rather about the distant "thereness" of Michelangelo's Rome and the isolated "hereness" of the place where we see the murals.

Painting/Christogram/Eucharist

The religious painting of Romanino's Brescian contemporaries, Moretto as well as Girolamo Savoldo, who worked mainly in Venice, seems to pursue an increasing degree of equivalence between pictorial mimesis and the representational plenitude that the Eucharist is held to possess—and with long-lasting consequences for painting in the region.

A late Moretto altarpiece now in London, generally dated to 1540–45 and probably produced for a Franciscan church outside Brescia, is characteristic of the ways in which the imperative of visualizing Eucharistic doctrine seems bound to a particular representational strategy (fig. 5.9). Although the work is impres-

5.9 Moretto, *St. Bernardino of Siena and Other Saints, with the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine.* c. 1540. Oil on canvas, 358 × 233 cm. London, National Gallery. Credit: © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY.

sive in its scale and a characteristic example of the artist's refined technique and cool, silvery palette, its seemingly predictable format has drawn little interpretative comment from scholars, other than opinions on dating, original location, and degree of workshop involvement.[45] Moretto's almost ascetically restricted repertoire of compositional motifs is, in large part, all here: a symmetric grouping of sacred personages arranged on two levels; in the lower, earthly one—usually an outdoor setting—saints are shown looking upward and inward, sometimes almost in lost profile, at a heavenly manifestation. Here the heavenward-gazing saints are Joseph and Francis, both kneeling, along with the standing St. Nicholas of Bari on the right. St. Jerome directs his attention to a book, while at center St. Bernardino of Siena displays his IHS monogram or Christogram (that is, the abbreviated name of Jesus

adorned with a cross and framed by a sunburst), and a codex with the text of John 17:6, "Pater manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus" (I manifested thy name unto the people; literally, "the men"). The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine is taking place in the heavenly zone above, witnessed by St. Clare of Assisi. Clare appears with her attribute of the Eucharist, exemplifying yet again the contemporaneous association of charismatic holy women with the thaumaturgic and apotropaic power of the sacred Host. (Thomas Celano's *Life of St. Clare* reports on her successful repulsion from San Damiano of invading Saracens, through a display of the Host, which addressed her with the voice of a child.)

This altarpiece exhibits something very distinctive and quietly polemical that its straightforward organization would seem to belie. Apart from merely gathering sacred persons from different eras of Christianity, the painting connects an array of devotional themes, using formal arrangements and analogies to encourage beholders to trace further implications. Indeed, the vectors of the gazes of the kneeling saints begin to make those connections for us. Their upward/inward looking is turned on an implied vertical axis, asserted in the slightly tilted parallels of Joseph's flowering rod and the crozier of St. Nicholas. At dead center, the main axis is reinforced by the cincture of St. Bernardino. Aligned on this central axis are the three miters labeled "ferrariae," "siene," "urbine"—the bishoprics that the saint was offered but declined—along with the book bearing the Gospel text. In his right hand the saint raises toward heaven his characteristic attribute; the Christogram appears precisely on the threshold of the heavenly and earthly zones, its shape echoed in the gold crozier held by St. Nicholas, which conducts our attention to Clare's Eucharistic monstrance.

The material nature of the monogram, which at first glance appears to be a shiny metal object, is ambiguous. It is not held by the saint, as in images of Bernardino preaching, but levitates above his hand. Signaled here is an ambiguity about words and language, at once made by human beings but also shared with God and his angels. The monogram appears closer in substance to the round, golden haloes of the saints, also of ambiguous materiality, than to the metal finial of the crozier nearby. In fact, it is an abstracted form of the blazing sun above, composed of circles of golden light with Christ—now in bodily form—at the center. The IHS is effectively taken up and magnified in the great circular golden blaze, a numinous aura manifest in air as well as in light—the *numen* moves the veil of the Virgin, the habit of St. Clare, and the flowing hair of St. Catherine. The Christogram, it is implied, transcends the human realm of words, as these appear inscribed on the book in the saint's left hand and the miters below, and is closer to the person of Christ himself. The relation of the Christogram to the Eucharist above, that is to say, is an equivocal one.

To be sure, the Eucharist is elevated, physically and thus hierarchically, over the monogram. At the same time, the IHS is far more assertively aligned with the person of Christ, appearing to his right as he turns and looks in its direction, underscoring a continuum between the name of Christ and Christ himself. The rendering of the Eucharist, by contrast, clearly emphasizes its materiality; it is manifestly an object, preserved in a crystal and gold

monstrance, itself an artifact in precious metal like the crozier immediately below.

So far, we can understand this as a sequential movement from graphic symbol to Eucharistic hypostasis to the body of Christ in glory: that which is venerated on earth in the form of a sign points to the full intensity of visual and even tactile presence in heaven. However, while appearing to propose a hierarchical, heavenward progression of symbols, the painting does not explicitly state the relation between them. For instance, if we regard the gazes of St. Francis and St. Joseph as following the vector of that of St. Nicholas, they clearly appear to be directed toward the figure of Christ. Moretto's decision to portray the saints in *profil perdu*, however, makes this less than certain. It seems as though their gaze encompasses both Christ as sign and Christ as presence, Christ as both verbal icon and iconic likeness.

The "vision" of Christ "through" the monogram is the generating principle of Moretto's invention. In two frontispieces for *Ein Spiegel der Blinden* by Haug Marschalk, a Lutheran tract published in Augsburg in 1522, Hans Burgkmair had placed the radiantly flaring IHS at the center of an allegory of spiritual blindness and insight (fig. 5.10).[46] Moretto's remarkable invention may indicate that he knew the woodcut: he could thus be seen to have appropriated the Lutheran image's identification of the monogram with an unmediated access to the divine, yet rendering it in acceptably Catholic terms.

In the view of Observant Franciscans and their congregations, the monogram of St. Bernardino was itself a holy image and object, with sacred powers of its own—powers that controversially mimicked those of the Eucharist. Far more than just a sign, it was as worthy of reverence, according to Bernardino, as God himself. Its benefits included healing from mental and physical ailments, exorcism, keeping Satan at bay, and protection from thieves and highwaymen.[47] The monogram obviously mimicked the form of the Eucharist, which was sometimes stamped with the same three-letter abbreviation of Christ's name.[48] Bernardino encouraged the identification in his characterization of the word "Jesus" as a nutritious and delectable food: "Savor it well, and remember that

Durch betrachtung vñ
Bekärung der böpen gebreych in
schweren sünden/ Ist Gemacht Dy-
ser Spyegel Der Blinden.
M.H.Z. Im jar. 1 5 22.
IHS

5.10 Hans Burgkmair, Frontispiece to *Ein Spiegel der Blinden* by Haug Marschalk. 1522. Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.

within it is the entire life of Jesus, from his birth into this world until his death and ascension. If you roll it over your tongue you will experience every delight in tasting it, but if you swallow hastily you will taste nothing, and you will not have a drop of pleasure."[49]

Beliefs about the efficacy of the Christogram, then, would have made it the active center of devotional attention for at least some viewers of the altarpiece. The analogy of three different signs for "Christ" discloses continuum, and continuum hints at identity. This equivocal relation, this potential elision, between the name of Christ and Christ himself had caused considerable controversy more than a century before, when Bernardino himself was put on trial before Martin V in 1437.[50] The Dominican Bartholomew of Florence attacked the veneration of the wooden and gilded IHS promoted by Bernardino, as a form of idolatry: its circular form and its gilding created confusion with and drew people away from the Eucharistic Host (as presumably did the fact that miracles were being ascribed to it). Although Bernardino himself was acquitted of the charges of heresy leveled against him, the pope forbade veneration of the painted or written monogram. This proscription was renewed at the canonization of the saint in 1450 by Nicholas V, who forbade that the saint be represented with the letters of the Holy Name. Despite the interdict and the militant opposition of the Dominicans and Augustinians, the banned iconography became standard in the depiction of the highly popular saint; the cult of the Holy Name was propagated by his chief followers and apologists, John Capistrano and James of the Marches. James upheld the equally controversial cult of the Holy Blood—the belief, again attacked by Dominicans for its undermining of the centrality and universality of the Eucharist, that Christ had left relics of his blood on earth after his bodily ascension, and that these exceptional vestiges of his body could be the object of special veneration and pilgrimage. Crivelli's splendid Camerino altarpiece of 1488 anticipates Moretto's in its visual insinuation of continuum and identity between sign and relic (see fig. 1.3): brother James appears at the extreme right, holding a vial with the blood of Christ. With right forefinger pointing upward, he signals its equivalence, as sign and as substance, with the dangling gold medal emblazoned with the YHS: "this is none other than that."[51] Yet the legitimacy of both doctrines would remain controversial: the debates between Franciscans and Dominicans on the blood of Christ were concluded but not resolved in a papal bull of 1464. The liturgical use of the Christogram received papal approval only in 1530, with the ruling that an annual feast of the Name of Jesus could be celebrated, but solely by the Franciscan order. Perhaps the sanction of 1530 was the occasion for the commission to Moretto.

James and Bernardino figured prominently in a sermon Fra Bernardino da Feltre preached at Brescia in 1493, *De nomine Yesu*: "St. Bernardino," he declared,

> had them paint at Siena a large *Yesu* with a halo on the wall of the Palazzo [Communale], and the plague suddenly ceased, and there were no further occurrences, whereas before these had been frequent. He did the same at Ferrara. Display the name *Yesu* and the plague will cease, sing everywhere *Yesu*, say *Yesu! Yesu! Yesu!* Everyone call out *Yesu!*

> Blessed Brother Jacopo of the Marches advised at Siena in a house where nine persons had died already of plague, that they should place the name of Jesus over rooms and stairways, and the plague ceased. . . . A certain demoniac said that when he heard Jesus named, he sensed the demons genuflecting within his body. Another, when he was ill and saw the devil approaching him, said the "Hail, Mary" all terrified and when he came to the word *Jesus* he saw the devil withdraw a little, and then he began to shout *Yesu! Yesu! Yesu!* And the devil completely vanished. . . . If you are ill, call *Yesu!* If you are accused, if defamed, *Yesu!* At Rome, Blessed James of the Marches freed six people fallen ill at one stroke invoking the name Yesu. It's IHS, of sweet memory, which blesses us.[52]

Although Moretto's altarpiece lacks any conspicuous narrative dimension, in its strategic promotion of the Christogram as Eucharist-like or even as Eucharist, it evokes an episode from the hagiographies of St. Bernardino. John Capistrano reported that when the saint preached before a great crowd in L'Aquila, the multitude witnessed a star hovering near his face: "As they saw the star before the face of St. Bernardino a heavenly voice proclaimed the saint's radiant face: *listen to him, follow him, and be faithful followers of him*." As the star disappeared from view, John continued, a radiant apparition of the Virgin Mary appeared in heaven.[53] It is not Bernardino alone who is glorified by the effulgence of the Virgin; the IHS monogram becomes the star that hovers as the saint preaches.

While seeming to reinstate a proper hierarchy of signs to referents, Moretto's painting also points beyond that hierarchy, leaving open the possibility that something *other* than a representational economy might govern religious symbols and, indeed, pictures. Representations of Christ, in whatever form, in some ways seek to be *like* the Eucharist, the perfect equivalence of sign and thing. They do not claim to *be* the Eucharist, but in forms of devotion that aspire toward an inner experience of mystical union, it was advantageous to suspend the difference between similitude and identity.

Moretto's altarpiece is a characteristic instance of thinking with the Host, above all drawing on its connective power as a symbol. Its power, that is, resides in its ability to connect representation to presence itself, the material to the spiritual, the metaphoric to the actual: the materiality of the Eucharist is thrown into relief when it is set against a "dematerialized" IHS monogram. At Brescia, around 1520, a visualized theology of the Eucharist became strikingly implicated in the work of the three artists who developed a more than local reputation: Moretto, Romanino, and Savoldo. At the Augustinian church of San Giovanni Evangelista, Romanino and Moretto began the first phase of work on a chapel for the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which would finally be completed, after long interruptions, more than twenty years later.[54] An altarpiece by Bernardino Zenale had already been installed in the chapel in 1509. The two artists were commissioned to decorate each of the facing walls with canvases that confronted scenes concerning the Eucharist from the life of Christ with typological antecedents from the Jewish Bible, together with a series of prophets. In the initial campaign, Moretto was assigned the *Last Supper*. Romanino's painting on the facing

5.11 Girolamo Romanino, *Adoration of the Eucharist*. 1522. On canvas, 271.5 × 564 cm. Brescia, S. Giovanni Evangelista. Credit: BAMSphoto / Scala / Art Resource, NY.

wall is sometimes identified as *The Mass of St. Gregory*, but it has little in common with the conventional iconography or even basic historical particulars of that event, which require at a minimum that Christ appear on the altar as the Man of Sorrows: the subject seems rather to be a nonspecific profession of faith by the confraternity in the doctrine of Eucharistic real presence (fig. 5.11). A group of stately noble laity, under the direction of a bearded priest, venerates an apparition of the Christ Child in the Host, while cardinals, bishops, friars, and other clergy—an assembly collectively defining "the Church"—gather around the altar. The scene has suggested to some scholars that Romanino intended to depict one of several recent miracles concerning the Host, because the composition betrays Romanino's knowledge of Raphael's fresco the *Mass of Bolsena* in the Vatican, where a doubting celebrant in the town of Bolsena has his faith restored by the bleeding of a consecrated wafer. The corporal used by the priest stained with the Holy Blood was transferred to the cathedral of Orvieto, and this relic had been venerated by Pope Julius II, portrayed by Raphael along with members of the papal court.

Although Romanino looked to Raphael as a model, he did not directly quote or imitate him. Rather, unlike Raphael, Romanino was preoccupied with finding the pictorial means to portray the doctrine of transubstantiation. He did this by drawing an extraordinary analogy between the factuality of the Eucharist and the actuality of the everyday. In the center foreground, a distracted child is restrained by an

adult from playing with a dog. The boy's head is centered on the red cross of the altar frontal, where it is also directly on axis with the chalice, the embodied infant Christ, and the Crucifix on the altar. This alignment on an axis implies a similitude. The terms of the similitude, the child and the chalice, are linked because they both participate in life, in the most material and concrete sense. The vitality of the living child, a genre-like element, communicates the "living" nature of Eucharistic presence, while at the same time maintaining a theologically irreproachable difference of degree. Naturalistic depiction becomes figurative, pointing to a superior order of truth and actuality, standing for that which is in no sense a metaphor but the thing itself. This naturalistic element claims its own visual interest: it is as if the world itself has come into view.

Moretto's *Last Supper*, which faces Romanino's lunette on the opposite wall of the chapel, is also based on an invention by Raphael—the *Last Supper* engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi—suggesting a programmatic engagement with the works of the recently deceased painter from Urbino (figs. 5.12, 5.13). However, while drawing on the general disposition, along with the architecture and furnishings, Moretto has repopulated the Roman setting with figures of his own invention, one or two clearly owing far more to Leonardo than to the engraving. Although Judas has been reinstated in his traditional place at the front of the table, the dramatic emphasis remains on the institution of the Eucharist. The perplexity of the apostles results from Christ's enigmatic pronouncements on the eating of his flesh rather than from his prediction of betrayal. Moretto particularly departs from Raphael (and Leonardo) in conveying the Gospel scene through a wealth of anecdotal particulars and by drawing on the most banal and ephemeral elements of the everyday world of a Brescian observer in the 1520s. His tight, focused handling describes the fine tableware, the red and green stripes on the chairs, the livery and Brescian *berrette* of the two servants,[55] the striped cat, and the long-haired dog: all these connote a sphere of the unremarkable and routine in which the miraculous—right now—is immanent.

With a tenacity quite distinct from followers of Leonardo or Raphael elsewhere, the Brescians sought to ground their imitations of these artists in an ontology of Eucharistic presence, where the Eucharist, beyond any other symbol, sets the standard for "the true" and "the real."[56] Motivating this trend is not only the desire to differentiate themselves from the leading artists in more powerful centers, but local and more widespread recent preoccupations about the Eucharist that seemed to grow with distance from Rome. The doctrine was under attack from reformers to the north, and its defense increasingly preoccupied Italian theologians and Church leaders—not least in Brescia itself. Susceptible to misunderstanding, abuse, and superstition, the Eucharist now required urgent clarification for both laity and clergy. Beyond scholastic distinctions between invisible "substance" and visible "accidents," the main point of orthodoxy to be insisted on was the *actuality* of Eucharistic transformation, and this is how the visible and tactile persuasiveness of painting would be deployed.

Paintings connected with the propagation of the Eucharist form an unusually large proportion of the commissions to Moretto and

5.12 Moretto, *Last Supper*. 1522. On canvas, 271.5 × 564 cm. Brescia, S. Giovanni Evangelista. Credit: BAMSphoto / Scala / Art Resource, NY.

5.13 Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *Last Supper*. 1515–16. Engraving, 29.5 × 43.2 cm. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. Credit: Wikipedia Creative Commons.

Romanino from the 1520s through the 1540s. From the 1520s the civic identity of Brescia was bound up with the proliferation of new Eucharistic confraternities that organized the religious life of the laity. Romanino and Moretto devoted much of their powers of invention to creating new iconographies to promote the ultra-realness of Christ's spiritual body. Their enterprise, however, had to take account of the fact that by 1522 the most prestigious imaging of Christ's body was produced by an artist of the sovereign power that ruled over Brescia: Titian's polyptych the *Resurrection of Christ* had been installed in the church of Santi Nazaro e Celso (fig. 5.14).

This manifesto-like proclamation of the Venetian modern manner in a subject city of the *terraferma* has a hegemonic and territo-

5.14 Titian, *Resurrection of Christ* (Averoldi altarpiece). 1521. On canvas, 278 × 122 cm. Brescia, SS. Nazaro e Celso. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

rializing dimension, especially in the period after the Wars of Cambrai, when Brescia had returned to Venetian rule after opening its gates to the invading French. The reinstatement of Venice as territorial overlord produced considerable friction, largely on account of a bill of reparations, Venetian interference with Brescia's territorial governance, and the feudal claims of Brescian aristocrats. Old factions reemerged; a recent scholar of Brescian-Venetian relations notes that "hostility toward the Venetian rectors was evident in the postwar era, and notices with 'scandalous and defamatory words' directed towards the *podestà* and his court were found posted in the city in 1521."[57] One anti-Venetian writer even challenged the aristocratic credentials of the patron of the altarpiece, Bishop Altobello

Averoldi, who came from one of the group of aristocratic families benefiting from reconciliation with Venice. As papal nuncio, he had been particularly serviceable to the republic.[58]

That Titian's work bears the sign of Venetian imperial aspiration, that it was conceived as a projection of the republic into the *terraferma* and the world, is suggested by the artist's often-noted response to art in Rome. This is no longer the kind of polycentric "Romanism" we traced in the work of Cesare da Sesto or in the early Lotto, which had been characteristic of Mantegna and the later 1400s. Titian's evocation of Rome is polemical and emulative: it is an early, and forceful, insistence on the axial linkage of two great artistic centers bonded by rivalry. Titian's allying his art to Rome is by no means to be seen as complacent filiation. Rather, he posits the axis in order to control it, at the same time providing a visual formulation of Venetian dominion (and its subjection of Brescia). To this end, Titian adopts a distinctively central Italian and systematic approach to imitation, one characteristic of Raphael and Michelangelo, in his evocation of canonical sources: the *Laocoön* and Michelangelo's *Slaves* (themselves imitations of the two sons of Laocoön), both recalled in the figure of St. Sebastian. Further, Titian's sensuous, richly textured *colorito* here—recapitulating the moody landscape and flaming skies of his recent Ancona altarpiece (see fig. 4.28)—calls into question the sufficiency and supremacy of central Italian *disegno* and the marmoreal idealism of the Roman modern manner.

5.15 Girolamo Romanino, *Resurrection of Christ*. c. 1525. On panel, 196 ×125 cm. Capriolo (Brescia), parish church. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Romanino's *Resurrection* for Capriolo near Brescia is indisputably a reaction to Titian's Averoldi altarpiece (fig. 5.15). Although it has not unreasonably been regarded as bordering on a caricature of the Santi Nazaro e Celso painting, the specific painterly grounds Romanino uses to take on Titian are worth comment.[59] The gravity-defying buoyancy of Titian's Christ, the physical idealization of his nude figures, is replaced with an emphasis on the gravity of bodies, even of Christ's resurrected flesh, underscored in the flaccid droop of the banner. The figure of Christ is, moreover, surpassed in gracelessness by the corpulence of the sleeping soldiers. What is targeted here,

I propose, is as much the practice of imitation, the affiliation of an artistic performance to a canonical original through quotation and citation (as we saw with Lotto's aggressive remaking of Raphael's Baglione *Deposition*), as it is Titian per se. There is something about the nature of Christ that is ill served through the mediations of artifice, the transmission of other works of art.

Romanino's refusal of Titian here is a turning point: his work in the previous decade, which included altarpieces in a highly prominent location in Padua, presented a stronger degree of alignment with the modern painters of the Veneto.[60] The new sense of resistance to Venice in Romanino's work corresponds with a kind of growing recalcitrance in the religious and cultural spheres in Brescia during the 1520s, even as political union with the Venetian state was consolidated. The city was preoccupied by a sense of its imminent spiritual and moral collapse, and by an incipient crisis in religious authority as the call for reform grew more widespread. Charismatic religious women like Angela Merici assumed significant public influence in the large-scale organization of charity and education, especially on behalf of women, as well as in daily problem-solving and conflict resolution.[61] The shadow of recent reformers like Fra Girolamo Savonarola, burned as a false prophet in Florence in 1498, loomed large. Moretto's posthumous portrait of the Ferrarese friar, explicitly treating him as a martyr, bears the date January 1524.[62] Preaching in Brescia in 1489, Savonarola had made his first public prophecies, which forecast catastrophe for the Lombard city. Like their neighbors in Bergamo (and like many Europeans), the Brescians expected that February 1524 would bring a massive flood under a major conjunction in Pisces. They prepared for the fateful day, as the brother of the Venetian chronicler Marin Sanudo reported, with processions of all the guilds, the religious orders, and the confraternities, bearing its precious Cross relics from the Duomo and the Eucharist; the bishop personally dispensed communion to his household at the cathedral.[63]

In two decades of political upheaval in Brescia, the Eucharist looms large, connecting many instances of anxiety on the part of Brescians regarding their city's impurity and susceptibility to divine wrath. The preacher Fra Bernardino da Feltre and the humanist Laura Cereta both inveighed against the casual treatment of the sacrament or its exposure in unsecured or near-derelict churches, where it was at the mercy of miscreants: "No locks or bolts protect the host," wrote Cereta to the bishop of Brescia, the Venetian (and largely absentee) Paolo Zane, in 1494. "Anyone who has the intention of stealing or profaning it can take, defile, sell or insult the flesh and the blood of Christ's humanity. Thus the body of the Son of God, more divine than any other thing, is abandoned to handling by everyone. Many sorcerers and nocturnal sages have erected altars on which they make infernal offerings to the dead."[64] Zane professed the city's loyalty to France by swearing an oath on the Host in 1509. Innocenzo Casari's eyewitness account of the sack of the city in 1513 returns repeatedly, even obsessively, to the theme of Eucharistic abuse and desecration. The French, according to Casari, ground Hosts beneath their feet into the mud and murdered priests administering the Eucharist.[65] Priests were arraigned for celebrating Mass without consecrated Hosts,

or for using them in diabolical pacts.[66] Relic and Eucharist processions like those of 1524 were subjected to a sinister parody in 1527, the year of the sack of Rome, when the chronicler Pandolfo Nassino reported in disgust that an assembly of fifty persons had marched with an inverted cross, chanting satanic epithets and cursing God and the Virgin. The same chronicler claimed that there were more than fifteen hundred Germans and heretics living in Brescia, "men dissolute in their lives and in their contempt of the saints, and doing things that even the Jews would not do."[67] Extremely repressive measures on the part of Bishop Zane, to extirpate heresy and witchcraft, may themselves have led to forms of insubordination like these blasphemous rituals.

With a continuing demand for Eucharistic altarpieces, Romanino completely rejected the model provided by Titian's *Resurrection*. His rejection, even "blocking," of Titian, is most forcibly signaled in the 1525 *Mass of St. Apollonius* for the Blessed Sacrament Chapel at Santa Maria in Calchera (fig. 5.16). The

5.16 Girolamo Romanino, *Mass of St. Apollonius*. c. 1525. On canvas (transferred from panel), 306 × 202.5 cm. Brescia, S. Maria in Calchera. Credit: Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

chapel had been founded in 1494 in an effort to conform to the teachings of Fra Bernardino da Feltre regarding proper Eucharistic reverence.[68] The imagery of the altarpiece, however, probably commemorates a traumatic episode of 1513, when the church had been ransacked by French troops during the sack of Brescia. As reported by Casari,

> Everything that had been stored up there in the temple, and in the private chapel, the doors and the cases being broken open by force, was taken away from the very celebrant in the church of S. Maria in Calchera when the barbarians came; the body and blood of Christ they cast upon the ground, they stole the paten and chalice, attacking the sacred priesthood even at the altar of the sacrament.[69]

The altarpiece depicts a miracle from the life of a saintly bishop from Brescia's early Christian past. Seeking to celebrate Mass one night, Bishop Apollonius found that he lacked the necessary liturgical apparatus. Miraculously, the deacons Faustinus and Jovinus (the latter known locally as Giovita), although imprisoned by Hadrian and awaiting martyrdom, appeared with the Eucharistic chalice, paten, and thurible.[70] The theme of ritual propriety upheld by divine means can be seen to compensate for the recent desecration of the Eucharist at this very site. However, by 1525 the threat to the sacrament would have been felt even more acutely, in the wake of an ever-widening controversy about the nature of the Mass and the specific challenge of Protestant theologies of the Eucharist. In Romanino's painting, therefore, the use of correct forms and apparatus is emphasized: the celebrant holds the paten with Hosts in his left hand while striking his breast with his right, thus signaling that he is uttering the words "Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi." The servers hold the thurible and the chalice for the ablution of the mouth, while the altar is outfitted with candles, cloths, and an altarpiece. Some viewers were probably aware of events to the north of the Alps. Luther's radical follower Andreas Karlstadt had published his treatise *On the Removal of Images* at Wittenberg in 1522, the same year the churches of that city were stripped of their altarpieces and statues; iconoclastic riots broke out in Zurich in 1523; at Nuremberg in 1525 a Lutheran church ordinance ordered the removal of "vestments, altarcloths, silver and gold vessels, and lights" from the city's churches.[71] In other words, Brescia's own recent history of sacrilege allowed the facts of the early Reformation to register there in ways different from in other parts of Italy. At the same time, the reports of image destruction to the north made the traumas of 1513 visible and—at least obliquely—representable.

The *Mass of St. Apollonius* has been recognized as a kind of meta-altarpiece that explicates the relation between images on the altar and the sacrament performed on it. Once again a similitude is drawn between hierarchically differentiated terms—between Eucharistic presence and a pictorial representation—in this case, the gold-ground altarpiece of the *Pietà*.[72] The unusual depiction of an altarpiece-within-an-altarpiece suggests not only the legitimacy but even the necessity of the image on the altar. The depicted painting demonstrates the function of such images: to underscore the significance (even ontological status) of the

Eucharist itself—the Eucharist *is* the body of Christ.[73] Here Romanino incorporates the authority of older images in the Brescian tradition: the painting on the altar is modeled on a work by the local Vincenzo Civerchio, painted about 1508 for the church of Sant'Alessandro (and likely itself based on an earlier work by Foppa). The most striking invocation of artistic authority, however, is the stylistic reference to an older contemporary artist who is pointedly not Titian, or any other of the progressive artists of the modern manner. Instead, the figure of the saint recapitulates the *maniera devota* of Perugino, only recently deceased in 1523. Perugino's considerable reputation around 1500 had a long afterlife, despite accounts (beginning with Paolo Giovio in 1527) of his eclipse by his own follower Raphael and the great Florentines Michelangelo and Leonardo.[74]

5.17 Moretto, *The Eucharistic Christ Adored by St. Bartholomew and St. Roch*. c. 1545. On canvas, 254 × 175 cm. Castenedolo, parish church. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

In northern Italy, Perugino's works could be seen at Venice, Pavia, and Cremona. Romanino's St. Apollonius is particularly close to the bearded figure of St. John the Evangelist in Perugino's 1494 altarpiece for the Cremonese church of Sant'Agostino, which Romanino would have seen when working at Cremona Cathedral only a few years before.[75] Perugino would have provided an alternative version of the modern manner to the classicism of Raphael and Titian, one valorized—as Giovio and Vasari disparagingly noted—for its devout characteristics of pious simplicity, contemplative serenity, and ritualistic repetition as opposed to poetic imitation.[76]

No other altarpiece in Italy in the mid-1520s seems so attuned to the crisis of religious authority in Europe, and with the need to confront the radical doubts being cast on the place of images in Christian worship and their liturgical role: Romanino's image seems conscious, on the one hand, of the polemic of Karlstadt against images on altars and, on the other, of Cardinal Thomas Cajetan and his "realist" defense of Eucharistic presence against the Lutherans.[77] Far from being "provincial" or an archaizing regression to Perugino, the work sounds out the possibilities for upholding and integrating pictorial artifice with the affirmation of sacramental authenticity. Rather than calling the fictions of art into question as a foil

for Eucharistic truth, according to a strategy of so-called soft iconoclasm, the Santa Maria in Calchera altarpiece stands at the beginning of an outpouring of Eucharistic altarpieces from the workshops of Brescia, for numerous churches in the city and the countryside, in which the simulative power of painting is affirmed along with its earthy materiality, its capacity to relay the physical properties of things (fig. 5.17).[78]

Moretto and the Substance of Style

Moretto's relation to Titian is charged with the most vexed preoccupations of a century or more of scholarship on Brescian painting: its so-called *brescianità*—in other words, the degree to which its artists were dependent on major "schools" or constituted a distinct local alternative.[79] Vasari had contrasted the *diligenza* of Moretto with the *pratica* of Romanino, implying that the latter worked spontaneously without models or drawings; he explicitly preferred the more careful Moretto, whom he characterized as an adherent of the *maniera* of Raphael.[80] As if in rejoinder, Carlo Ridolfi's *Le maraviglie dell'arte* of 1648 casts Moretto as Titian's "friend and pupil." [81] The annexation of Moretto to Titian and Venice has been a constant theme in modern scholarship from Berenson onward. Especially for Anglophone historians, the view of Moretto as a gifted Venetian provincial appears as a default position in reaction to Longhi's forceful and influential insistence on the independence of the Brescian cinquecento. It is manifestly the case that Moretto engages with the art of both Titian and Raphael—the very antipodes of the Venice–Rome axis—but his motivations were probably more urgent than a desire to affiliate to a "modern manner." Moretto wished to put the language of art, the modern manner, on show, in order to provide a ground or a foil for the unmediated factuality of Eucharistic presence.

A series of innovative altarpiece designs shows Moretto testing the viability of highly prestigious Venetian and Roman models, and in so doing signaling an artistically nondependent connection to Venice, Rome, and Milan. Reversal is often the trope of appropriation. The extraordinary *Massacre of the Innocents* altarpiece was commissioned by the Augustinian canon Innocenzo Casari—author of the chronicle of the sack that was quoted above—along with his brother, for the family altar in San Giovanni Evangelista about 1530–32 (fig. 5.18). Apart from its reference to the patron's name, this unusual subject for an altarpiece has been explained as a commemoration of the violence of the sack of Brescia, in which the Casari brothers had been involved as victims and eyewitnesses of the slaughter of their relatives and fellow citizens. "So many infants and children, so many virgins and married women did they murder in their beds, while others they burned, and others elusive up until this time were subjected to torture: thus were Brescian Christians flagrantly outraged at the hands of French Christians."[82]

By 1530 it was probably difficult to avoid the emerging canonical model for the representation of the subject, one that pointed to the ascendancy and ubiquity of Raphael and the Roman tradition: the engraving of the *Massacre* after Raphael by Marcantonio Raimondi, issued in two versions between 1511 and 1515 (see fig. 3.17).[83] Through a series of extraor-

5.18 Moretto, *Massacre of the Innocents* (Casari altarpiece). 1530–32. On canvas (transferred from panel), 231 × 141 cm. Brescia, San Giovanni Evangelista. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

dinary maneuvers, Moretto conveys his command of Raphael's invention, while calling into question the authority of Raphael as a model or ideal of practice. He takes the frontal advance of Raphael's group of figures and inverts it, so that the beholder now views the entire event as if from behind. We are confronted for the most part by the backs of the protagonists, while the figures beyond are largely cropped and partially eclipsed. The most overt reference to the Raphael composition is the woman in a white tunic, whose lower body literally rotates the legs

of the female in the same position in the print by 180 degrees. The expression on her face is similar but less visible since she turns away: we no longer see the child in her arms. The soldier to her left is not a formal borrowing from Raphael, except that his older, clothed body can be understood as completing the turn of the hips and shoulders begun by Raphael's naked gymnast. Another woman and child from the Raphael print, the genuflecting woman who tries to restrain the sword-wielding soldier while holding her child under her right arm, is alluded to through another transformation, where both figures have turned their upper bodies inward toward the depths of the picture space; the child is now held in the woman's left arm, and his face, like hers, is no longer visible.

The inversion of the composition, its turning away from us, is polemically charged. Looking through or past the melee of bodies, we see that Raphael's bridge with three arches has been replaced by a three-bay loggia from which the turbaned figure of Herod witnesses the massacre as if he were a spectator at a tournament. The composition, we now realize, faces him. His relation to the event is founded on spectatorship, and ours is clearly to be distinguished from spectatorship, a denial of the *spectaculum* of violence. That is not, of course, the case with Raphael, where the composition turns a horrifyingly violent event into a virtuosic choreography, as explicit as it is drenched in anomalous *grazia*. Moretto has now equated the viewpoint of the spectator of Raphael's image with the viewpoint of a tyrant and murderer, and insinuated that the aestheticizing of bloodshed in the print after Raphael makes the viewer an accomplice in the unleashing of violence against the archetypically innocent. Moretto painted this at the time that Romanino, in Trent, was producing his rustic parody of the Sistine *ignudi* for the palace of the prince bishop: even while acknowledging the centrality of Rome and the canonicity of its principal artists, the Brescians are creating a counter-aesthetic.

This restaging of the narrative from the back takes into account the perspective of a congregation witnessing the celebration of Mass at this altar in San Giovanni Evangelista. Before the frieze of backs another back will present itself, that of the celebrant facing the altar, and this presence of the priest finally activates the painting. The turning away of both priest and narrative protagonist results in a greater prominence for the element that dominates the upper part of the composition. In a blaze of light and celestial clouds, the motifs of a child and a cross once more appear, making a gesture of triumph. Who is this figure? An inscription from the Psalms, "The innocents and the righteous did cling to me" (Ps. 24:21), indicates that it is not one of the Innocents themselves, who would in any case be inappropriately represented by a single individual. Instead, this is a manifestation of Christ in terms of the compound Eucharistic and Passion identities we have seen in Romanino's image, elsewhere in the same church (see fig. 5.11).

The appearance of the divine and human Christ Child now allows the massacre not to be regarded as a spectacle of violence but as a *figura* of Christ's Passion and hence of the Eucharist itself. Just as the transubstantiated Host, raised by the priest with his back to the congregation, shows the ultimate import of the ritual of the Mass, so the personified Eucharist elevated above the turmoil below shows

the ultimate significance of the historical episode and the transformation of violence into redemption.

There are, then, pattern and purpose to Moretto's citation of Roman and Venetian art, in which artistic goals are not distinct from the imperatives of making effective liturgical art. The purpose lies in this: the citation of another artist's work, from this point onward, has a hermeneutic function. It comes to signal prefiguration. The image of Christ, by contrast, and the depiction of the Eucharist are free of allusion, free of prefiguration, divested of the effects of art. They are, as it were, *beyond* "mere" representation. Moretto's paintings for Eucharistic chapels in the next few years—including the second phase of the cycle at San Giovanni Evangelista—consist mainly of depictions of Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist. Without exception, they are saturated with conspicuous reference to Raphael and younger artists identified with Raphael, including Giulio Romano and Parmigianino. At San Giovanni, Romanino's corresponding Gospel scenes of the Raising of Lazarus and the Feast in the House of Levi are vigorous, almost coarse attempts at blunt immediacy, produced as a conscious foil to the *diligenza* and allusive "mannerism" of his colleague's paintings of the Fall of Manna and Elijah and the Angel. Imitation is a figure of mediation, underscoring the doctrine that the food that nourishes the body in the Old Testament is but a figure of the angelic food that heals souls and restores life to the dead.[84] Somewhere between the artifice of poetical painting and the hypernatural Eucharist is Moretto's characteristic idiom of sacred painting, a devotional naturalism reserved for the most important sacred subjects.

The most extreme example of a Moretto altarpiece that rejects not just artistic reference but also familiar iconographies is the celebrated cult image of Paitone, painted in 1534 for the mountain sanctuary recently constructed at the site where the deaf-mute peasant boy Filippo Viotti had encountered the Virgin in the guise of a grave matron dressed in white, who promised that he would be healed if a church were built on the site (fig. 5.19).[85] In 1648 Ridolfi referred to the painting as "a miraculous image of the Virgin that Moretto made at the behest of the commune for the miracle that had occurred," the miracle taking place in 1532.[86] Ridolfi further reported that Moretto produced the painting according to the boy's description, but that, impeded by his own sinfulness, he was only able to work after prolonged fasting and the reception of the Eucharist. Ridolfi attests that the image, once installed, worked actively on behalf of its devotees: "it was there frequented by continuous visits of the people, through which they obtain many graces and favors from the divine hand." The work is part of a legitimizing process that involved approval of the cult by the auxiliary of the bishop of Brescia, Mattia Ugoni, in 1532. It could even be seen as not just confirming but sustaining the legitimacy of a potentially vulnerable local devotion. (Parallels with the seventeenth-century propagation of the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, allegedly following an apparition in 1531 near Mexico City, are striking.)

The people of Paitone received a highly singular cult image, effectively a document of the miracle that had taken place there, and bearing so little resemblance to any other painting of the Virgin that she seems barely recogniz-

5.19 Moretto, *The Virgin Appearing to Filippo Viotti* (Virgin of Paitone). 1534. On canvas, 226 × 177 cm. Paitone (Brescia), Santuario. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

able: this was *their* Virgin, haloless, Christless, and veiled in black. Singularity here is a sign of the sacred; so, too, is Moretto's evocation of presence by an intensified description of physical particulars. Instead of a halo, the sacred is made concrete through the shimmering gray silk that sets the apparition apart from the humble landscape and from the witness.

Vasari recognized that Moretto was skilled in rendering the luster of precious textiles.[87] Yet the designation of sacred bodies through lustrous fabrics and reflective surfaces had

already become one of the hallmarks of Brescian religious painting, in the hands of Savoldo and Romanino. It goes with a process of particularization, of making distinct. Already in the 1519 *Marriage of the Virgin* for San Giovanni Evangelista, and in the 1525 *Nativity* for Sant'Alessandro, and then throughout his career, Moretto's colleague Romanino had enveloped his humble types of the Virgin and female saints in luxuriant black, gold, and silver textiles, occupying large areas of the pictorial surface (fig. 5.20). These draperies suggest simulations of actual fabric, as if—in a reminiscence of Pliny's account of Apelles and the painted curtain—the canvas support were being transformed into silk. Silk both ennobles and makes palpable: the faces, hands, landscape, and other figures often appear cursory

5.20 Girolamo Romanino, *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*. c. 1540. On canvas, 153 × 207.6 cm. Memphis, Brooks Museum of Art. Credit: Brooks Museum of Art, Memphis TN, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.

and unresolved, without the sense of tactile and luminous presence achieved in the drapery. It is the sheathing with silk that calls them into appearance, if not into being. A similar tendency is found in Savoldo's series of Mary Magdalene images (fig. 5.21).[88] As Mary Pardo has shown, Savoldo here takes on Titian in the imperative of designing a female half-length that evokes the self-reflexive and affective poetics of portrayals of female beauty.[89] Yet he goes startlingly further in that what first appears as a smilingly alluring address to the beholder becomes an experiment in conveying a divine presence through natural phenomena. The Magdalene is portrayed as witness to the Resurrected Christ; Savoldo's painting intimates his presence nearby with a reflection of his refulgence in her shawl.

5.21 Girolamo Savoldo, *Mary Magdalene*. c. 1535–40. On canvas, 89.1 × 82.4 cm. London, National Gallery. Credit: © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY.

The effulgence of lustrous cloth stands in for supernatural light, yet it also asserts the values of mimetic painting, especially as a supplement to the portrayal of the sacred. The superreal designates and frames the hyperreal. Through the deliberate incongruity of a silk robe on pointedly unidealized people, it could be seen to draw on the mnemonotechnics of influential texts like the the *Rhetorica ad Herrenium*, which had long had an impact on the literature of devotion and meditation. We can make ideas into memorable images, according to the *Rhetorica*,

> if we assign to them exceptional beauty or singular ugliness; if we dress some of them with crowns or purple cloaks, for example, so that the likeness may be more distinct to us; or if we somehow disfigure them, as by introducing one stained with blood or soiled

5.22 Girolamo Romanino, *Christ Carrying the Cross*. c. 1542. On canvas, 81 × 72 cm. Private collection. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

> with mud or smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking, or by assigning certain comic effects to our images, for that, too, will ensure our remembering them more readily.[90]

In Romanino's *Christ Carrying the Cross* from 1540 (fig. 5.22), Christ's robe, dominating the painted surface, evokes the "coronis aut veste purpurea" in the passage just cited. There virtuosity is most conspicuously asserted, there the eye of the beholder is most engaged (Christ averts his eyes, so nothing about his countenance beckons as forcibly). There is no precedent for the luxuriant painting of Christ's robe in any northern Italian Passion image. The sleeve celebrates pictorial mimesis yet also points beyond mimesis: the mimetic had been added to something else that is "more" true.

Moretto's rendering of the specific qualities of matter is where he most pointedly diverges from Titian: his painting is insistently about the opacity of substance, the reflectivity of surfaces. Titian, by contrast, tends to prioritize the tactile appeal of skin, and only secondarily that of hair and fur. Other textures (cloth, marble) serve as a kind of frame or offset. The accent falls on the soft and the pliable rather than on the unyielding. Titian's address to visible reality is at this stage less about the simulation of visible and tactile substance than about a kind of sweetening, even an eroticizing of it: it makes skin, drapery, hair not only persuasive but palatable.

Moretto's major devotional and liturgical works are concerned with the optical qualities not only of fabric but also of hard, colored substances, especially stone. His altarpiece of 1539 commissioned by the schoolmaster Galeazzo Rovellio for the Church of the Miracoli in Brescia proclaims a clear affiliation with Titian's great 1526 altarpiece of the Pesaro family in the Frari, but it is also a thorough transformation toward quite different artistic ends (fig. 5.23). In Titian the imposing architecture and the use of cloud, shadow, and reflection create a lofty, ceremonious space filled with light and air. There is very little of this grandeur in Moretto's

5.23 Moretto, *Virgin with St. Nicholas* (Rovellio altarpiece). 1539. On canvas, 242 × 192 cm. Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

adaptation. The Virgin and Child appear to St. Nicholas of Bari and his child protégés on what appears to be the altar of a semiruined church, one from which images have been stripped. Coldness and damp are palpable; the marble surrounding the Virgin is patterned with dark veins, while that to her right is streaked with mildew and infested with weeds. There are no haloes or conventional signs of supernatural presence, as there are in Titian, but the otherwise empty niche lined with gold mosaic lends an effulgence of light to frame the head of St. Nicholas. Moretto's and Titian's Virgins seem presented under different conditions of access to the figures below. With Moretto one feels a sense of proximity, immediate communication, touchability, rather than ceremonial distance, even as a vertical hierarchical interval is

5.24 Moretto, *Virgin and Child with Four Saints*. 1536. On canvas, 224 × 174 cm. Bergamo, Sant'Andrea. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

5.25 Moretto, *Christ at the Column*. 1540–50. On panel, 59 × 42 cm. Naples, Capodimonte. Credit: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

5.26 Moretto, *Nativity with Saints*. 1550. On canvas, 412 × 276 cm. Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo.

preserved. Further, something is particularly at stake in the rendering of matter in Moretto's painting—especially luminous and variegated matter, sometimes depicted in a state of transience or decay.

The transience of matter is intermittently a theme in Moretto's other paintings—from the early *Virgin Adoring the Child* now in Bergamo (1520), to the 1536 *Virgin and Child with Four Saints* for Sant'Andrea in Bergamo (fig. 5.24), to the late *Christ at the Column* in Naples (1540–1550; fig. 5.25), with its startling panels of blue marble that look like petrified sections of the sky beyond, and the great 1550 *Nativity with Saints* for the Brescian church of Santa Maria delle Grazie (fig. 5.26). Conventional iconological Manicheism would regard such an emphasis on transience in terms of a rejection of the physical world. This would, however, have to be weighed against the more numerous instances in which stone, wood, and other substances are not simply subject to decay, but seem—like shining cloth—to augment the luminous splendor of the painting.[91]

Taken together, it appears that Moretto's religious painting does *not* set matter in opposition to the domain of the sacred represented by the holy personages of his paintings. The question is, then, what kind of relationship is being proposed between matter—sometimes decaying, but often resplendent—and the eternal and uncorruptible Christ, Virgin, and saints? Some recent commentary on Moretto has attempted to connect his imagery to the devotional and meditational literature, a good deal of it published in Brescia, with which Moretto's audience would have been familiar. Among these are Giovanni da Fano's *L'arte de la unione* from 1536, the writings of Angela Merici, Antonio Meli's *Scala del paradiso* (1527), and Benedetto da Mantova's *Beneficio di Cristo* (1543). These texts and much of Moretto's pictorial corpus can indeed be seen as upholding the disciplinary pursuit of spiritual union by the devout Christian in the everyday world and the otherworldly and eternal. Even the *Beneficio di Cristo*, a text ultimately condemned for its advocacy of the doctrine of salvation by faith alone, draws on a much older tradition of spiritual exercise in which the reader is shown how to approach the divine through gradual degrees of spiritual discipline and self-perfection, with a promise of ecstatic transcendence of the self and the world. Connection between the texts and the paintings is usually demonstrated by tracing aspects of Moretto's imagery to religious symbols and metaphors in the treatises, although often with mixed results.[92]

The evangelical writers generally hold the material and sensory world in low esteem. Their readers are told that their objective is to rise from the "ruinous state of fallen nature, to God, its final object and ultimate end," in the words of the *Scala del paradiso*. Understandably, the image of the Stairs or Ladder to Paradise recurs in this spiritual literature. The goal is to achieve a gradual vertical ascent from the sphere of worldly things to the realm of the nonworldly, through the four stages of *lectio*, *meditatio*, *oratio*, and *contemplatione*. The process is a kind of Platonic purgation of consciousness. Spiritual union in this body of literature is a demanding and gradual operation that involves the crossing of boundaries and the change from one state to another. By contrast, the promise of Moretto's paintings on Eucharistic and Marian themes seems more emphatically about the *continuum* of lower with higher states. Although organized on similarly vertical and hierarchical principles, it seems more concerned with the proximity of the starting point and the ending point. These are entirely communicable worlds, and the sacred descends to a far greater degree than the profane ascends. Moretto and, as we will see, Savoldo succeed in visualizing a potential of spiritual exercises that is only tacitly apparent in the texts. For instance, the evangelical mission of Angela Merici began with a vision of the Ladder of Jacob, in which the angels who ascend and descend the ladder were the members of the sisterhood she was to found in Brescia, whose work in the city and among the poor was sustained by ecstatic ascent and return to the world. These are worlds in connection, and the traffic between them is two-way.[93]

The Virgin and Christ in Moretto's paintings are raised on high thrones or hover in space above a lower zone populated by saints or (occasionally) donors. Yet despite their elevated position, it is apparent that they have

manifested themselves *within* a terrestrial sphere of matter and substance that the artist so richly describes, almost as a precondition of their becoming visible.[94] In the Sant'Eufemia altarpiece of about 1530 (now Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo), the Virgin descends through the oculus of a temple in order to be visibly manifest to two kneeling male saints. The virgin saints Euphemia and Justine here are mediating figures, participating to a closer degree in the nature of the Virgin. The Virgin sometimes reaches down from her pedestal to bestow benefits of various kinds, but mostly her attention is engaged by the rapt gaze of the saints that bridges the remaining hierarchical interval (see figs. 5.23, 5.24). Moretto's paintings may be seen as visualizing the potential of the sacred and the material to coexist. Matter—vilified by many reformers and evangelicals as epitomizing the worldly, the corruptible, the sensual, the deathlike—is shown to be made sacred through the holy presence that occupies it, manifesting itself visibly within the sensory world and according to its conditions. Even its tendency to decay signifies its vital potential.[95] Such an affirmative view of matter has its roots in the Franciscan mystical tradition of the *lignum vitae* (wood of life) imagery underlying the cycles by Lotto and Romanino with which we began. Moretto's rendering of matter may have something in common with a more recent Franciscan vitalist theology of nature, such as that of the friar Francesco Zorzi, who published his *De harmonia mundi totius* in 1525. For Zorzi, drawing on much older scholastic and Plinian accounts of the "life" of minerals, variegated marble and other colored stones were formed of earth, air, and fire, though they possessed a vitality that mirrored the operations of the superlunary world:

> Should we wish to reduce stones to a single category from their common properties, from primary qualities to a single element, we should list them according to their individual planet, which is the earth: through the influence of Mars with Saturn comes their hardness, and with earth and fire well heated and compacted together so that they might live by means of a subtle spirit. So it is not without reason that stones are said to live; yet they rejoice in life alone, deprived of reason, sense, and any movement other than increase or alteration. They do not grow but are altered by fire and the heat of the sun, and the desire exists in them always to tend to the center of gravity.[96]

Depictions of the Nativity of Christ and the Adoration of the Shepherds become extraordinary explorations of the most humble physical circumstances—the world "between" humans and animals, of decaying sheds and straw-filled mangers. About 1540 Girolamo Savoldo painted an *Adoration of the Shepherds* for the Bargnani chapel in the Brescian church of San Barnaba that suggests an even more explicit analogy between pictorial and Eucharistic "realism" (fig. 5.27).[97] In this artistic commission for his hometown, he consciously localized his approach, producing a work that seeks to recognize and to extend a particular tradition of the image in Brescia, and to respond to the artistic requirements that were upheld by the leading artists of the city. The artist based his composition on a fifteenth-century fresco of the Nativity that had started to perform miraculous cures in May 1526, when first the Virgin

and then the child, followed by St. Joseph and the angels, were seen to open their eyes and move their limbs. The fresco was detached and moved to its present location in the Brescian church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in 1539—a moment corresponding closely with the putative date of Savoldo's altarpiece.[98] Savoldo has transposed and adapted not only the figures of Christ and the Virgin but also the stable with its square window and—in a disposition particularly faithful to the original—the head of the ass. His most substantial changes are the modification of the figure of St. Joseph, who kneels in adoration instead of standing, and the addition of the witnessing figures of two shepherds.

5.27 Girolamo Savoldo, *Adoration of the Shepherds*. 1530. On canvas, 192 × 178 cm. Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Most remarkable, however, is Savoldo's reconceptualization of the pictorial codes through which the divine or the miraculous is manifest to human vision in the older image. Instead of the aureole of light surrounding the Christ Child in the earlier painting, his gleaming skin is now offset by a kind of negative halo, repeating the contour of his wriggling body, produced as if purposefully by the decay of wooden planks in the structure behind him. Other signs of the supernatural are present in the form of angels, but these have now migrated to the background, where they constitute a remote prelude to the foreground scene—the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Supernatural effulgence is now only a supplement or foil for an emphatically material and everyday manifestation of the divine. As the shepherds regard the Christ Child through frames and across parapets, it is impressed on us in our parallel condition as viewers of the painting that the divine does indeed exist in the realm of facts accessible to human vision. This is the case even if we perceive it through the mediation of frames and thresholds that mark off the domain of the sacred but do not disrupt its continuity with the world from which we regard it. Sacred naturalism is here distinguished not simply by fidelity to natural appearances, but by hierarchically ordered degrees of reality within the pictorial field itself. It is as if what we, like the shepherds, perceive just beyond the frame is the most "real" of all—the incarnate body of Christ.

Moretto responds to Savoldo, significantly, in a commission ten years later for the church of the Grazie, indicating that he well

understood the relationship between Savoldo's painting and its miraculous model (see fig. 5.26). Yet, instead of borrowing Savoldo's invention, Moretto reflects on the ways his colleague connected the Eucharistic body of the newborn Christ with the physical world. Christ is about to be swaddled by a midwife: we notice that the basket of linens contains a bright red cloth. Clearly, this has already been chosen for the child, who betrays trepidation. To make sure we notice this, Moretto has filled the upper part of the picture—yet underneath the crumbling roof of the stable—with an apparition of red-robed seraphim, the highest of the celestial hierarchies, whose fiery nature signified the charity of Christ's sacrifice and of the martyrs in his wake. Appropriately, the image has been connected with a passage in the *Legenda aurea*: "The birth of the Lord was made known in a multiplicity of ways [through] creatures which have existence only, such as things that are simply material or corporeal, like stones; others have existence and life, like plants and trees; others have existence, life, and sensation, the animals; still others . . . have reason, as human beings do; and finally some creatures have understanding, or knowledge, and these are the angels."[99] The perishable material frame of the stable now, here, contains that chain of being.

While the art of painting had been defined in art theory from Alberti to Pino and Dolce in terms of representing the visible, this naturalism had remained inseparable from the idea of poetic invention. The model of poetic invention is manifest in the practice of imitation, the conspicuous citation of other works of art, the use of metaphoric and allegorical elements, and often by a sensuous quality that seeks to place the beholder in a relation of longing across the space of loss or absence, which it is painting's poetic (that is, Petrarchan) task to open up. By the 1540s Titian and Raphael had become the twin beacons of the poetics of imitation. The mimetic mode of sacred naturalism, for its part, aspires to free itself of these obvious tropes of artfulness; it evokes a plenitude that is ultimately available and obtainable through the sacrament. More is at stake than an opposition between poetic fiction, on the one hand, and unvarnished truth, on the other. Operating in this hierarchy of naturalisms, the imitative and the mimetic, is the idea of the Eucharist as a supreme mode of representation with a unique purchase on the real, the sign that is consubstantial with what it represents. In other words, sacred naturalism seeks to occupy a kind of second rung in this hierarchy, between the "ultra-true" Eucharist, on one side, and the fictive or poetic mode, on the other. In the work of Moretto's pupil Giovanni Battista Moroni, the depiction of the Eucharist is often supplanted by reference to Eucharistic paintings by Moretto or by Moroni himself. For a sacrament confraternity in Romano, Moroni "reproduced" his master's *Last Supper* at San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia; his principal modification of the model lies in the inclusion of a portrait—perhaps the parish priest and confraternity member Lactantio de Lallio—which looks grafted into the work (fig. 5.28).[100] The report of a pastoral visit conducted under the auspices of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo referred to the painting as *icona multum honorifica* (a much honored icon). From 1573 the work—subsequently referred to as "the replica [retratto] of Christ's supper"—was protected by a curtain.[101]

5.28 Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Last Supper*. 1567. On canvas, 295 × 195 cm. Romano di Lombardia, Santa Maria Assunta and San Giacomo Maggiore. Credit: © DeA Picture Library / Art Resource, NY.

For Moretto, Savoldo, Romanino, and their contemporaries, the Eucharist is the ideal, if ultimately unobtainable, model for representing Christ's body. While later and elsewhere in Italy, as Nagel has shown, the propagation of the Eucharist may have led to strategies of display independent of pictorial mediation, the larger consequence of Eucharistic devotion was anything but iconophobic. It was image-affirmative and conducive to a development in Italian painting that was able to withstand the emerging academic formulas of Mannerism and the encroachments of painting from the Venetian metropolis.

In Luigi Scaramuccia's *Le finezze de'pennelli italiani* (1674) the author and the ghost of Raphael are given a tour of the artistic highlights of Brescia by a local painter, with due praise for Moretto and Romanino. In an exchange about Titian's *Resurrection* (fig. 5.14), the local painter remarks that "while Titian is held in great esteem, as is appropriate, nonetheless Paolo of Verona is regarded by us Brescians as equal in rank, in wisdom, in character not inferior."[102] Raphael agrees. Brescian painting was indeed the crucible from which Veronese emerged; he was as much a Lombard as a Venetian, and his example—imbued with the glistening fabrics and limpid marbles of Moretto—would provide a vitalizing alternative to the options of Titian and Tintoretto in later sixteenth-century painting across northern Italy.[103]

6 *Against Titian*

Most of the artists examined in the previous chapters had to adjust at some point in their careers to the rise of Titian as a major presence in Italian and in European art. In this concluding chapter we will see that Titian, who outlived most of these contemporaries, registered in his later work an increasing tension between being a "Venetian" and an "Italian" artist. First, we will look at geographic considerations in the reception of Titian's art from midcentury, focusing on the cities of Milan and Naples, tracing a general pattern of reaction to a perceived inscrutability and alienating character in the painter's works for locations in Italy. We will contrast Titian's production for Habsburg and non-Italian destinations, where he performs as *the* quintessential artist of the Italian modern manner, with a very different "Italian" or "Venetian" Titian, in which the artist pursues strategies of disidentification from a critical enterprise (Dolce, Aretino, Vasari) that increasingly sought to define his work.

In a letter of 1553 to the sculptor-architect Jacopo Sansovino, Pietro Aretino took aim at the popular but already banal debate on the relative merits of painting and sculpture (it had been most influentially discussed by the Florentine Benedetto Varchi in 1547):

> This is a question that has been fought over, not only more times than there are marbles and pigments in the world, but than there are fanciful notions among those who carve and paint. Thus the search for my judgment in such a matter is a madness that only madness would endorse, since I—who just about know how many syllables you need to compose a verse—little venture into making judgments on that which is not judged by those who take account of the design in a painting or a stone carving. To oblige you in this would be like trying to make a comparison between Divine Providence and human folly.[1]

Aretino, though, was complaining about a state of affairs that he had helped to bring about. While the previous century had seen the development of a body of words and concepts through which artists communicated to each other and to their publics about what they were doing, the role of nonspecialists in the production of art theory and criticism, and the popularity of art as a topic across many different forms of writing on an array of subjects, had led to the circulation and reproduction of formulas like the *paragone*.

When critical terms have become familiar and banal, to what extent are they really useful for understanding ambitious art? In some recent art historical writing, the precepts of the treatises are an essential key to understanding practice, sometimes to the point where anything that cannot be described in their terms is simply not available for inquiry. A subtler view, which might read Renaissance critical theory and artistic practice in a more antagonistic and dialectical vein, has been slower to emerge.[2] Such a state of affairs has beset the study of Titian in particular. His painting has often been treated as if it were no more than a painted illustration of what his contemporaries wrote about it, in the analysis of which such terms as *colore*, *colorito*, *giorgionismo*, *venezianità*, *poesia*, pastoral, *pittura di macchia*, *petrarchismo*, *sprezzatura*, naturalism, and sensuous circulate repetitively. By midcentury Titian would have found himself conscripted into a different kind of critical *paragone*, one that understood the practice of Italian art in terms of a narrowing array of regional styles, held to be polemically opposed one to the other. Before undertaking a closer examination of what such polemic might have meant to Titian and his art, we need briefly to consider the emerging regionalist ideology of the treatises and their impact on some ambitious artists working in northern Italy in the later 1500s.

Artists "Off the Axis": The Campi, the Carracci, and the Legacy of Correggio

We have seen that with the publication of Vasari's *Lives* in 1550 and the well-known Venetian rejoinder of 1557, *Dialogo della pittura di M. Lodovico Dolce, intitolato l'Aretino* (hereafter *L'Aretino*), artists throughout Italy were faced with the possibility that where they trained and where they worked might be a liability to their reputation. Of course, this produced its own critical resistance: in the later cinquecento and beyond, the Venetian challenge to Vasari's Tuscan prejudice was taken up in the polemics of writers who proclaimed the merits of artists in Cremona, in Milan, in Bologna, and elsewhere.[3] Some artists active before midcentury—notably Lotto—created work

6.1 Vincenzo and Antonio Campi, *Resurrection of Christ*. 1580. Fresco. Milan, S. Paolo Converso.
Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

unconstrained by the imperative of proclaiming its origins, engaging instead with the conditions of place; others, like Moretto and Romanino, were invested in propagating a local stylistic idiom informed by a sense of distance from Venice and Rome.

Later sixteenth-century artists were faced with the options of aligning themselves with a Roman-Venetian canon or, in rejecting it, risking provincial oblivion. The Lombard painter Correggio, dead since 1534, became a rallying point for artists reacting against the hegemonic axis of Rome and Venice. These included painters not native to Lombardy, such as Barocci in Urbino, Luca Cambiaso in Genoa, and Cigoli and Cristoforo Allori in Tuscany.[4] Correggio was also one of several artists important for the three brothers Campi, a family workshop active in Milan and their native Cremona. The middle brother, Antonio, championed the history and cultural achievements of their native city with the publication of his *Cremona fedelissima* in 1582 and 1585 (the latter with engravings by Agostino Carracci), earning him a knighthood from the pope in 1583. Yet the brothers revealed their anti-Vasarian program more distinctly in a spectacular series of frescoes and altarpieces for the double church of the Angelican nuns at San Paolo Converso in Milan, executed by Antonio along with his older brother Giulio and the younger Vincenzo between 1564 and the mid-1580s.[5] The most spectacular of the works for San Paolo is Vincenzo's and Antonio's *quadratura* vault with its gesturing figures, a tour de force of illusionistic foreshortening and a clear homage to Correggio's dome frescoes in Parma as well as to Bramante's Milanese *trompe l'oeil* projects (fig. 6.1).[6]

What the Campi accomplished in their two decades of work at San Paolo Converso amounted to the declaration of an alternative canon, centered on the artists of Lombardy and the Veneto rather than Tuscany. Giulio worked largely in the idiom of earlier Cremonese artists like Camillo Boccaccino. His scenes of the life and martyrdom of St. Paul from the 1560s draw additionally on the manners of Pellegrino Tibaldi and—looking even further back in time—to Mantegna's Ovetari *Martyrdom of St. James* in Padua; the characterization of the saint himself is based on Gaudenzio Ferrari's altarpiece in S. Maria delle Grazie (fig. 4.56). The dramatic candlelit chiaroscuro of Antonio's 1571 altarpiece *St. John in Prison* for the same site is clearly conscious of nocturnes by Savoldo, such as the *St. Matthew and the Angel* from the Zecca in Milan (now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), perhaps even of Romanino's and Moretto's works at San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia, where Giulio and Antonio had both worked at the city's Palazzo della Loggia in 1549. While the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (1581–87), with its dramatic lighting and virtuosic foreshortening, recalls Pordenone's tumultuous Passion cycle in the cathedral of Cremona (figs. 6.2, 6.3), the 1575 *Feed My Sheep* (*Giving of the Keys*) is an essay in the style of Veronese (figs. 6.4, 6.5).

The case of the Campi parallels the much better known family enterprise of their friends the Carracci in Bologna. There, in the early 1580s the brothers Annibale and Agostino and their older cousin Ludovico, by means of a collaborative workshop and teaching academy, developed a reformed modern manner that polemically opposed itself to the Tuscan *maniera* of Vasari and of his followers in Bologna.[7] Their

6.2 Antonio Campi, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. 1581–87. Oil on canvas, 280 × 192 cm. Milan, S. Paolo Converso. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

6.3 Pordenone, *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. 1520. Fresco. Cremona, cathedral. Credit: Ghigo G. Roli / Art Resource, NY.

6.4 Antonio Campi, *Feed My Sheep (Giving of the Keys).* 1575. On canvas. Milan, S. Paolo Converso. Credit: Mondadori Portfolio / Art Resource, NY.

6.5 Veronese, *St. John the Baptist*. c. 1562. Oil on canvas, 205 × 169 cm. Rome, Galleria Borghese. Credit: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

6.6 Annibale Carracci, *Boy Drinking*. 1583. Oil on canvas, 55.8 × 43.7 cm. Cleveland, Museum of Art. Credit: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund 1994.4.

earliest commissions onward is inconceivable without him.[8] Correggio served as the pathway toward a kind of naturalism—characterized in terms such as "liveliness" and "living flesh"—that combined drawing from the model with a quality of *grazia* that could be reconciled with Raphael. Annibale's famous workshop studies, supposedly produced rapidly in the presence of the model, in at least one instance owe less to life drawing than to an invention he believed to by Correggio (fig. 6.6). This was the *Fable of Marsyas* engraved by Girolamo Sanuto in 1562 and inscribed "ex clarissimis pictoris Antonii de Corregio pictura," while another inscription explains the grafting in of part of the composition of Raphael's *Parnassus* (fig. 6.7).[9] Ironically, the original painting from which the work derived was not by Correggio at all, but by none other than Agnolo Bronzino, one of the very Tuscans about whom Annibale was so disparaging in his annotations to Vasari. (Bronzino was among those Florentines—according to Annibale's jottings on Vasari—whom Titian could have superseded even "painting with his feet.")[10] The episode reveals the rather fragile basis according to which "the Tuscan" could be distinguished from "the Lombard," and illustrates the degree to which the identification of regional characteristics, as well as connoisseurship, was dependent on something more than the objective judgment of formal qualities. Sanuto may not have known who painted

6.7 Giulio Sanuto, *The Fable of Marsyas*. 1562. Engraving, 51.5 × 40.3 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Credit: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

the original of the *Fable of Marsyas*, but his opting for Correggio is probably occasioned by his dedication of the print to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, whose territories included several cities (Reggio and Modena) where Correggio had worked.

The Carracci and their program of reform point to a fracture that is characteristic of regional challenges to Vasari. They themselves differed in their estimation of the extent to which their reform of style—grounded as it was in the close study of Titian, Veronese, Correggio, and other northerners—was a regional concern. While Ludovico was adamant that the Carracci reform would remain anchored in Bologna, his younger cousins Annibale and Agostino staked a claim for its universality by introducing it to Rome in a series of spectacular commissions that laid the groundwork for the academic ideal of painting in Europe: a new, universal, Roman, modern manner, drawing not just on the Lombards but on Venetian and central Italian traditions. For Ludovico, who refused to visit Rome, the reformed style was largely local in its significance, a regional challenge to Rome from a quietly insubordinate subject city of the papal state; his younger cousin Annibale, according to the Carracci biographer Carlo Cesare Malvasia, had merely adulterated the force of the style by incorporating Raphael and Roman antiquity. Ludovico was drawing on the alleged example of Correggio, who, he believed (as did Vasari), had resisted the allure of Rome.

The difference of outlook between Ludovico and Annibale corresponds to a fundamental distinction between a "secessionist" model of regionalism and one that seeks legitimation through the symbolic authority of Rome. The latter was invested in Rome as the archetypal

site of convergence (of past with present, of center with periphery); the former tended toward a kind of regionalist separatism, which is strongly embedded in the historiography of Italian art to the present day. Among those who sought to displace Rome's centrality, and indeed Vasari's axis, with a trans-regionalist ideal was the Milanese painter and academician Gian Paolo Lomazzo, to whose two compendious texts on the principles of painting we have already referred. We have seen that in the allegorical conceit of Lomazzo's *Idea del tempio della pittura*, he imagines Italian painting as a system or structure of mutually reinforcing parts, sometimes analogous to a body, but predominantly as a round temple supported by seven columns, each corresponding to one of a canonical "Seven Governors" of the art. We suggested that Lomazzo's canon of seven was a rejoinder to Vasari's narrower Tuscan-Roman one, and he explicitly confronts Vasari's partisan bias in his remarks on Gaudenzio Ferrari, in particular.[11] Lomazzo sought to be even more inclusive. At the beginning of the *Idea* he listed the best artists, spanning the entire peninsula and illustrating the diversity of the art: Mazzolino, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, Perino del Vaga, Rosso, Maturino, Giorgione, Sebastiano del Piombo, Bernardino Luini, Marco Pino, Giulio Romano, Pellegrino Tibaldi, Tintoretto, Lorenzo Lotto, and Luca Cambiaso.[12]

At the same time, Lomazzo targeted narrowly provincial forms of regional identity, especially in the self-consciously provincial Accademia dei Facchini della Val di Blenio.[13] Through bizarre pseudo-rustic rituals and the writing of burlesque poems in an uncompromising rural patois, Lomazzo and his Milanese friends suggested that intense love of and identification with one place could be ludicrously marginalizing, even while clowning in dialect could be an effective mask for more subversive comment. The ironic intention was made only more pointed by the fact that several of the poems pay facetious tribute to famous artists who had achieved fame and success in the international arena, away from their place of birth: Rosso of Florence, who died as court painter to the king of France; Marco Pino from Siena, the leading artist working in late cinquecento Naples; and the Bolognese Camillo Procaccini, recently active throughout Lombardy under the patronage of the Borromeo family.[14]

One passage in *Idea del tempio* indicates a degree of hesitation regarding the relative merits and canonical status of Titian as opposed to Correggio. Lomazzo wonders whether he should, after all, have included Titian as one of his Seven Governors: "I must not neglect to mention here that some painters have criticized me for not having chosen Antonio da Correggio in Titian's place." These unnamed other painters are thought to have been the Campi and their associates, to whom Lomazzo was hostile. The Cremonese painters, with powerful patrons in Milan, had successfully competed for commissions against members of Lomazzo's own faction, which included Ambrogio Figino and Giuseppe Meda: "They do not understand the importance of knowledge and are given entirely over to practice, which cannot be praiseworthy or good if the importance of knowledge is not first understood. Neither do they understand the rules and strengths of mathematics."[15] Lomazzo's assessment, together with a satirical sonnet against a painting by Antonio from 1587, was founded on the envious reports of others; he had been

stricken with blindness in 1571 and could not have seen the altarpieces and frescoes of San Paolo Converso, which ought to have been sufficient answer to any charge of being deficient in mathematical expertise.[16] His prejudice against certain Correggio followers notwithstanding, Lomazzo hastens to explain that he judges Correggio to be at least the equal of his Seven Governors: the two most perfect paintings imaginable for Lomazzo are an *Adam* drawn by Michelangelo and colored by Titian, with proportions and harmonies from Raphael; and an *Eve* drawn by Raphael and colored by Correggio.

The Afterlife of Titian in Milan

The hint that there is something provisional or polemical about Titian's inclusion in a ranking of the best painters points to a broader ambivalence about Titian in late sixteenth-century Milan. We might turn, for instance, to another work of Milanese art theory, Gregorio Comanini's 1591 dialogue *Il Figino*, "on the ends of painting," named after one of Lomazzo's own most illustrious pupils.[17] The title of this dialogue sets it up as the Lombard answer to Dolce's *L'Aretino*, with the title now almost defiantly referring to a painter rather than a writer. Otherwise, there is no avowal of Dolce except by conspicuous omission, manifest in the dialogue's complete refusal to mention Titian or, indeed, any other Venetian artist. Discussions of Raphael, Michelangelo, and the Lombards, however, are abundant.

The silence of Comanini might seem mysterious. At least two of the leading painters active in Milan—Simone Peterzano of Bergamo and Giovanni da Monte from Crema—were believed to be disciples of Titian. Giovanni da Monte is referred to as a Titian pupil by Lomazzo himself in the index to his *Trattato* of 1584.[18] This Lombard artist appears to have worked or studied in Venice, spent some years in Poland, and ended his career in the service of Emperor Maximilian II. Although he made copies for the latter of Titian's famous series of eleven Caesars in the ducal palace of Mantua, none of his known works betrays any stylistic affiliation with Vecellio. If anything, Giovanni's impressive organ shutters for San Nazaro in Milan are an essay in the imitation of Titian's great rival Pordenone, whose works he could have studied closer at hand in Cremona.

Peterzano, by contrast, actively promoted his connection to the famous Venetian. He placed the signature "[s]imon petrazanus / titiani al[umnus]" in his *Lamentation* of about 1575 for the Veronica Chapel at Santa Maria della Scala (now in San Fedele), but in a work that, stylistically and technically, has nothing to do with Titian (fig. 6.8).[19] The tight brushwork and unbroken fields of color, in particular, are far more strongly reminiscent of the Lombards Moretto or Savoldo. Yet in Habsburg Milan, claiming affiliation with an illustrious painter close to the emperor could win commissions. A document of 1596 from the Opera of Milan Cathedral refers to the artist as "Simone Peterzano de' Tiziani pittore." The commission in question, an *Annunciation* for the Oratory of San Matteo alle Banchette, draws on earlier versions by Peterzano of the same subject, which ultimately derives from Cornelis Cort's 1566 engraving after Titian's San Salvador *Annunciation* (1560–62; figs. 6.9, 6.10).[20] The firm *disegno* and smooth surfaces betray the mediation of the engraving, and the

silvery palette and tight handling suggest that Peterzano never saw Titian's original, so different in its blazing tones and its riotous brushwork. Yet even if he had seen it, there is much in Titian's altarpiece that he sought to resist: he has heavily modified the proportions of the angel, clearly an airy being of a different species from Titian's lurching heavyweight, and he has given the Virgin a piously acquiescent demeanor rather than one of suspenseful and erotically charged anticipation.

As a Passion subject, Peterzano's *Lamentation* also seems to call into question the authority of a Titian original, in this case Titian's most visible work in Milan: the 1541–42 *Crowning with Thorns* for Santa Maria delle Grazie (see fig. 4.55). Modern scholars have had misgivings about this work—either on account of Titian's alleged unease in handling violent subject matter or as an instance of the painter's so-called Mannerist crisis, where he strove unsuccessfully to emulate central Ital-

ian art. Thomas Puttfarken showed that the painting exemplifies an ongoing preoccupation with cruelty and tragic pathos throughout the artist's work, but he perhaps goes too far in regarding the *Crowning* as "[not] in any way unusual or particularly exaggerated."[21] For Puttfarken the painting can be assimilated to the contemporary reception of Aristotle's *Poetics*: tragic spectacles of pity and fear—in poetry, theater, and painting—often assumed a political cast, especially among Titian's Habsburg patrons, in proto-absolutist courtly spectacles of hubris and its punishment. Thus, Titian's evocation of Roman art, already visible in the *Resurrection* polyptych in Brescia and in the much-celebrated Gonzaga *Caesars* from the 1530s, acquires here an oppressive and despondent cast. The carceral masonry, with the scowling bust of Tiberius on a lintel, provides the setting for the brutal event to which the Milanese Confraternity of the Corona was dedicated. Christ, appropriately, is modeled

6.8 Simone Peterzano, *Lamentation*. 1573. On canvas, 290 × l85 cm. Milan, San Fedele. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

6.9 Simone Peterzano, *Annunciation*. 1596. On canvas. Milan, Museo diocesano. Credit: Fondazione Sant'Ambrogio, Museo Diocesano.

6.10 Cornelis Cort after Titian, *Annunciation*. c. 1566. Engraving, 23.5 × 17.3 cm. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art. Credit: Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund.

on the preeminent classical archetype of suffering, the Belvedere Laocoön.

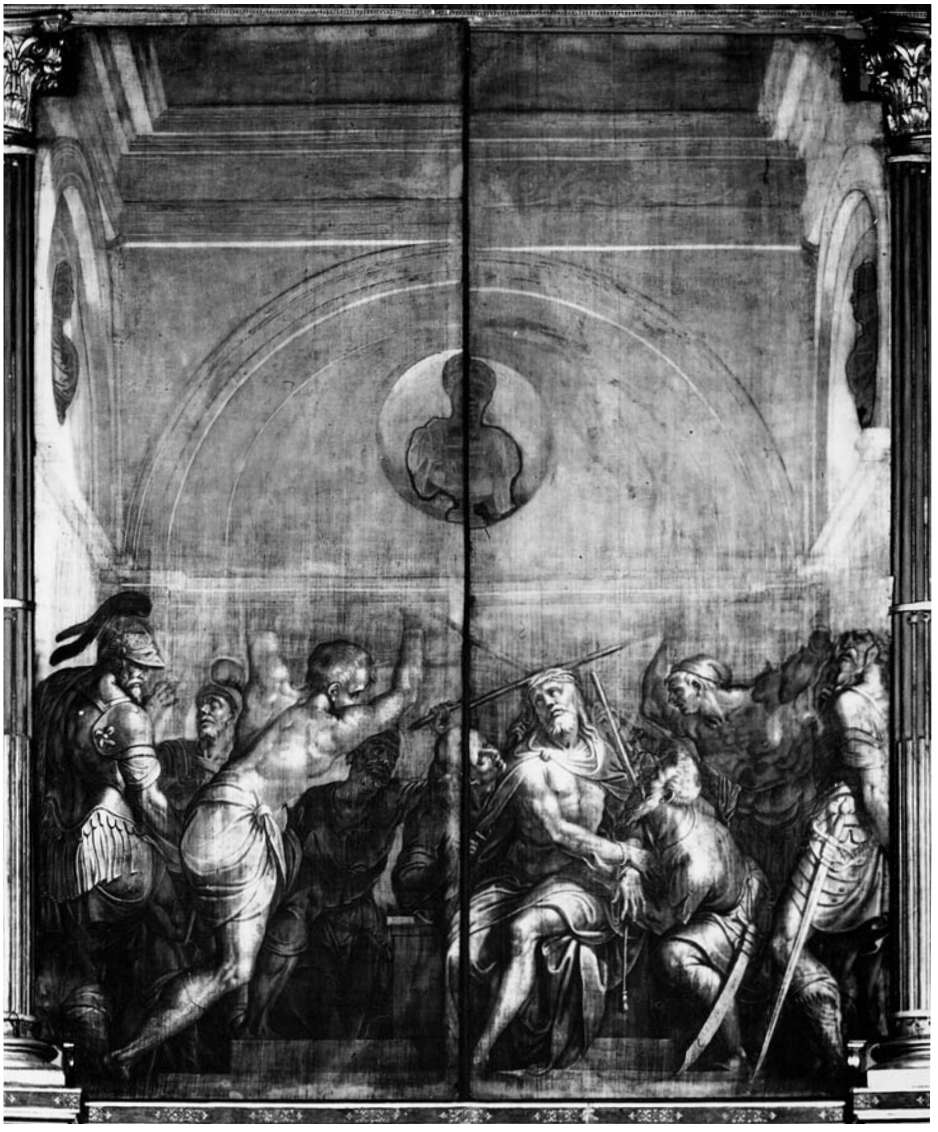
It is perhaps not surprising that the sixteenth-century artistic reception of Titian's *Crowning* also reveals a distinct pattern of unease. However, the problem was less the brutality of the work than its general inscrutability. When artists responded to the painting, they generally felt compelled to fix something, or felt that certain relationships had to be clarified, as if the emotional register of the image, even the legibility of its narrative, was elusive or indeterminate. It is as if another set of concerns was at work, quite incidental to the "tragic" representation of a scriptural event. How are the two figures in the extreme foreground—a soldier in chain mail whose right arm encircles the shoulders of a helmeted man in green—to be understood in terms of the logic of the narrative? They seem above all to present a disruption or suspension in the violence enacted against the person of Christ. The helmeted figure, his expression scarcely legible in an area of shadow, tentatively touches the reed—a soldier's mockery of a regal scepter—in Christ's hand. The man in green—insofar as his pose is legible—seems to be genuflecting. It is not clear whether we are to understand the other figure as restraining him, or if his turning away of his head is supposed to convey horror at the spectacle—an aversion, say, that leads the way to conversion. Carlo Ridolfi, in his *Life of Titian*, asserts that the soldier in a shining coat of mail is "kneeling in derision" while he offers Christ a walking stick as a scepter, yet his subsequent comments indicate that, for Ridolfi, such a univocal interpretation does not do justice to the figure's largely undetermined disposition toward his victim: "Oh, wondrous effects of that divine image which possesses the power to draw out compassion from the hearts of anyone who gazes upon it yet could not awaken a tiny spark of compassion in the cruel Jews within sight of the tormented Redeemer."[22]

The left hand of the figure in chain mail seems to clasp the bonds around Christ's wrists, resulting in a disturbing spatial anomaly—the soldier's elbow is level with his thigh, but Christ's wrists are withdrawn to his body, out of reach of the soldier's hand. The composition looks as if it has been produced through a process of addition, by a grafting of heterogeneous elements, as if this is a kind of montage without a final synthesis. It is manifest in a lack of resolution about the actions depicted and about the emotional tenor of the work. It seems to block one kind of appeal to the beholder—the suffering face of Christ—with another: the inward-leaning scrutiny of the picture's interior by the figures viewed from the back. As much as this is the attitude of torturers intent on desecrating the image of God on earth, it could equally be described as a kind of embodied empathy, a desire for immersive connection with the Man of Sorrows analogous to that of a devout beholder before the image.

Contemporary artists, understandably, found this incongruity to be bewildering. Andrea Schiavone's woodcut response to Titian—an important document of the work's reception in Venice—is a clear attempt to rationalize the composition and to make sense of the odd behavior of the soldiers in the foreground (fig. 6.11). The entire composition has been rotated to the side, opening an interval of space between the two men—now cast as

"observers"—and the group of Christ and his tormentors. Carlo Urbino's organ shutters for Santa Maria della Passione in Milan (1560s) also constitutes a thoroughgoing revision of Titian, rendering the anatomies and spatial relations more coherent and including a contemplative soldier at the extreme right, unambiguously removed from the main action (fig. 6.12). Giovanni da Monte's *Crowning with Thorns* for the Collegio della Guastalla at Monza, probably executed after the artist's return from the imperial court in 1583, is also a critique of the painter's alleged mentor, not just in its sober color and chiaroscuro, its Michelangelesque anatomies, and the clarification of the space that they occupy, but also in its

6.11 Andrea Schiavone, *Crowning with Thorns*. c. 1554–58. Woodcut, 32.6 × 22.2 cm. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art. Credit: Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund.



6.12 Carlo Urbino, *Crowning with Thorns*. 1560s. On canvas. Milan, S. Maria della Passione.

6.13 Giovanni da Monte, *Crowning with Thorns.* 1583. On canvas. Monza, Collegio della Guastalla. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

rationalization of the narrative (fig. 6.13). In place of the unresolved motivation of Titian's two soldiers, here a clear distinction is made between cruelty and compunction on the part of Christ's tormentors. More telling still is the response of Antonio Campi to Titian's work in his 1580 *Adoration of the Shepherds*—the high altarpiece for the church of San Paolo Converso (fig. 6.14). In a composition that draws nothing from Titian in terms of style or technique, Campi has recast the anomalous soldiers from the *Crowning with Thorns* as a pair of companionable shepherds. This is the only citation of Titian, and hardly an affirmative one, in the

6.14 Antonio Campi, *Adoration of the Shepherds*. 1580. On canvas. Milan, S. Paolo Converso. Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

whole ensemble of decorations for San Paolo.[23]

Titian in late sixteenth-century Lombardy was evoked talismanically as a famous name, and one with Habsburg approval, but not as a model that would sustain pictorial practice. In purely practical terms, his approach to space and composition, not to mention his brushwork, could not easily be assimilated to a systematic and pedagogically oriented theory of art. Even Lomazzo qualified his praise of Titian by mentioning his defects as a draftsman; so, too, did Archbishop Federico Borromeo a decade later, notwithstanding his enthusiasm for Titian's *Adoration of the Shepherds,* which

he had acquired for his Ambrosian Academy and Museum.[24] Borromeo celebrates his prize Titian as a horn of plenty from which painters could seek out and absorb the principles of painting: variety of expression, animals in a variety of shapes, panoramic landscapes, accurate examples of architecture, the optical illusion of distance. He goes so far as to assert that even Michelangelo had ranked Titian higher than himself. Yet this does not prevent the archbishop from making what for him was probably a pedagogically necessary observation: that Titian is deficient in *disegno* and that the Virgin and Child are "represented with less than perfect artistic skill."[25] Titian, finally, is pronounced to be better at the "lowness and natural movements of the animals and camp followers." In his discussion of a *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* by Titian, Borromeo praises a portrayal of St. John as exceeding everything else in the painting, while the figure of Christ "does not measure up."[26] The archbishop, moreover, exhibited works in Titian's late manner as exemplars of bad practice, of the relationship between *facilitas* (facility) and *incuria* (carelessness), ascribing what he saw as the exhaustion and depletion of Titian's late style in part to the artist's desire for gain: "He apparently painted these after he had become complacent and sated with his glory, or rather drained by his exertions. While the *facilitas* of his work and the confident drawing [*graphide*] deserve praise, in other respects it was done so listlessly [*tam oscitanter*] that one would say that even Titian himself was fully aware of his own sloppiness when he was painting them."[27] Several decades of disappointed or perplexed clients—from Lombardy, the Veneto, and Venice itself—would have agreed with Borromeo. The 1543–45 *Pentecost* for Santo Spirito in Isola had to be repainted following complaints from the canons of the church, a lawsuit, and an appeal to the pope; patrons of an altarpiece for the cathedral of Serravale complained about the quality of the work they received in 1547.[28] In Brescia in 1568, the town council had refused to pay Titian the full amount contracted for three large ceiling canvases, on the quite plausible grounds that they did not appear to have been painted by him.[29] In Naples, Titian's *Annunciation* (1557) for the Pinelli Chapel in San Domenico was attacked for its drab color, the faulty proportions of the angel, and his indistinct facial features—as we know from a treatise in its defense by Bartolomeo Maranta.[30]

It was not just a lack of quality control that inhibited Titian's impact. This has to do, I propose, with the increasingly alienating character of Titian's art from about 1540 onward. Such an estranging quality is the result of the artist's uneasy relation to the role he was increasingly called on to perform: not just to be the chief painter of Venice but—as it were—to "be" Venetian painting, as this is increasingly characterized in a growing literature of art beginning in the 1540s. He himself, in earlier works for the *terraferma* like the Gozzi altarpiece for Ancona Cathedral (see fig. 4.28), insinuated an identification of his blazing, virtuosic *colorito* with his adopted city of Venice. The altarpiece is modestly signed "Titianus Cadorinus pinsit" (Titian of Cadore painted this), but the spectacular background view of the city on the lagoon is the real sign of provenance here.[31] In 1544 Aretino wrote his famous *ekphrasis* of the city of Venice as a painterly invention in flaring light and flaming color by

nature itself, calling on Titian, "whose brush is [nature's] very soul," to render it.[32] Yet the more his contemporaries invested in his work as a definitive formulation of Venetian painting, even as a "production of Venice," the more Titian retreated into a kind of self-reflexive, even solipsistic "placelessness." The works preempt their own history of nonreception, of incomprehension, even outright rejection.

Here we perhaps need to recall some of the key preoccupations of Titian's work in the years preceding the Milan *Crowning with Thorns*, above all so we can understand how these preoccupations are transformed in the 1540s and 1550s. From the very beginning—with the *Concert* (c. 1510: Paris, Musée du Louvre) and *Jacopo Pesaro Presented to St. Peter* (1506? Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts)—the feature that most distinguishes Titian's naturalism as a meta-naturalism is its phenomenological quality. In their portrayal of sensation, his works implicate the beholder's own sensations: painting is conceived in terms of its sensory dimensions, and in terms of a division of perceptual experience. This can be seen in the degree to which Titian's pictorial structures seem to exacerbate the contrast between two modes of perceptual engagement with painting: what a literate person of the time might have called *prospettiva* and *rilievo*, terms that anticipate the twentieth-century formalist preoccupation with "visual" and "tactile" values.[33] The *Presentation of the Virgin*, painted for the Sala dell'Albergo of the Scuola della Carità (1535–38), for all its fulfillment of site-specific requirements (fig. 6.15),

6.15 Titian, *Presentation of the Virgin*. 1538. Oil on canvas, 345 × 775 cm. Venice, Scuola della Carità (Accademia).
Credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY.

is characteristic of Titian's tendency from his earliest work to organize his composition around two modes of pictorial address to the viewer, in terms of *prospettiva* and *rilievo*. The former concerns the correlation of fictive space with the viewer's position before the image, the way that the composition imposes a necessary viewing distance so that it can be apprehended as a whole.[34] That dimension in experiencing the work is underscored by the spacing and distancing effects of the gaze within the picture itself, the intervals—in depth or in the plane—between figures who perceive and those who are perceived. In the case of the *Presentation*, the viewer's position is reciprocated by the obelisk in the background, a standard element of Peruzzi's and Serlio's scenic designs, but also widely understood in Renaissance literature on hieroglyphics as symbolizing a ray of light.[35] The axis established between the viewer and the obelisk is at right angles to the major horizontal in the painting, that defined by the Virgin's ascent of the Temple steps and the gazes of the majority of the figures to the left, which all run parallel to the picture plane. Not only does Mary follow the vector of vision of most of the witnessing figures, but she herself emanates rays of heavenly light.

Yet Titian also includes figures and motifs that self-referentially embody the principle of *rilievo*, the tactility of pictorial illusion. This calls for a closer, more immersive engagement with the image, even with the loss of a grasp of the whole and its theological *mise-en-scène*. *Rilievo* is embodied by the statuesque market woman selling eggs, in the narrow space between the wall of the steps and the picture plane, and the highly tactile antique carved torso nearby. While such motifs signal the tactile dimensions of the image, they are here dissociated from any affective or devotional relation to its subject, as if standing for the appeal of painterly artifice alone. This careful balancing of the perspectival and relief effects seems undone in the *Crowning with Thorns*, with its suppression of spatial interval and emphasis on the close, incipiently tactile engagement of two figures with the body of Christ.

The 1540s: Titian as "Italian" Artist

By the 1540s, in the wake of projects like the *Presentation of the Virgin*, Titian was clearly poised to dominate art in Venice and—with invitations to the papal and imperial courts—far beyond. Contemporaries increasingly proclaimed him to be one of the three greatest artists of the era and, of those other joint claimants, Michelangelo and Raphael, only one was now living.[36] All local challengers to his supremacy, like Lotto and Bordone, had either left Venice or died, as was the case with Pordenone—his most significant rival—in 1539. Some leading artists from central Italy had come and gone. On the heels of Francesco Salviati, who had spent a year working on decorations for the Grimani palaces at Santa Maria Formosa, as well as an altarpiece for the church of Corpus Domini, had arrived Giorgio Vasari, drawn to Venice by connections with prominent Florentine expatriates and by his fellow Aretine, Pietro Aretino. Vasari was active briefly in Venice in 1541–42, decorating a temporary theater for the production of Aretino's *La Talanta* and painting a ceiling for one of the Corner residences (presently the Palazzo Corner-Spinelli). What should have been his most prominent and visible commis-

sion did not progress beyond the design stage: a ceiling decoration for the Augustinians at Santo Spirito in Isola. When he left Venice, the commission was entrusted to Titian, who may also have had access to the three designs for ceiling paintings that the Aretine artist had submitted. Titian's three canvases are a tour de force of foreshortening and violent drama, enacted by powerful muscular figures (figs. 6.16–6.18). Although Titian had shown his command of such effects in his *St. Peter Martyr* altarpiece for Santi Giovanni e Paolo in 1529, the paintings—along with the Milanese altarpiece of the *Crowning*—have once again been seen as a symptom of his so-called Mannerist crisis, as if the artist had been shocked into an awareness of central Italian art by the recent presence of the Tuscans, thus venturing into a competitive striving that led him away from his "natural" strengths as an artist.[37] It seems unlikely, however, that either Vasari or Salviati posed any significant challenge to Titian, especially if we compare the Santo Spirito canvases to Vasari's Palazzo Corner ceiling, where the delicate central figure of Charity displays minimal foreshortening, and the surrounding figures, none at all.[38] Of far greater concern to Titian was the legacy of the

6.16 Titian, *Cain and Abel*. 1542–44. On canvas, 298 × 282 cm. Venice, Santa Maria della Salute (originally for S. Spirito in Isola). Credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY.

6.17 Titian, *David and Goliath*. 1542–44. On canvas, 300 × 285 cm. Venice, Santa Maria della Salute (originally for S. Spirito in Isola). Credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY.

6.18 Titian, *Sacrifice of Isaac.* 1542–44. On canvas, 328 × 285 cm. Venice, Santa Maria della Salute (originally for S. Spirito in Isola). Credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY.

lately deceased Friulian painter Pordenone, a specialist in violent and sublime effects, who had left a string of important commissions stretching across northern Italy from Venice to Cremona.[39] Titian responds to the signature features of Pordenone's style, above all the massive, powerful bodies with plane-defying foreshortenings, locked in dynamic struggle and in some cases seeming about to tumble out of the painting (see fig. 6.3). There is no reason to think that Titian saw such effects as incompatible with his habitual ways of working, varying his approach depending on the commission, or—furthermore—that the Santo Spirito panels would have been understood as a premeditated challenge to Michelangelo, an artist Titian regarded as a colleague and whose support he enlisted (via Aretino) in a suit over a benefice for Pomponio Vecellio in 1544.[40] The Venetian Paolo Pino, in his 1548 *Dialogo di pittura*, considered foreshortenings to be the "perfection of art," and there is no sense that he considered them the specific province of central Italian painters: artists should "employ large figures in their works, because it is in those you can best organize the proportions of living figures. And, in all your works, let there be at least one figure all foreshortened, mysterious and difficult, because by this means you will be seen as worthy by those who understand the perfections of art."[41]

To be underscored in the Santo Spirito paintings is not only the role of the body as affective vehicle but—and this is peculiar to Titian—that the tumultuous, overpowering presence of the body goes with a conceal-

6.19 Titian, *St. John on Patmos*. 1548. On canvas, 237.6 × 263 cm. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art. Credit: Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection.

ment of the faces of the protagonists, even to a blocking of physiognomic engagement with the viewer, qualities we have noticed with the strongly sculptural figures in the foreground of the *Crowning with Thorns* (and, as Maranta relates, soon to be a major point in the critical attack on the Naples *Annunciation*). Titian's altarpiece of the *Pentecost* for the same church features just such a dynamic and powerful figure in the gesticulating St. Peter in the right foreground; a variation on this figure type appears again—but foreshortened and viewed from a different angle—in Titian's other great ceiling decoration from the decade, the *St. John on Patmos* for the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista (fig. 6.19). The precise date of completion of any of these works is not known: the Santo Spirito paintings were begun in 1541 and may have been all finished by 1544, although some believe that the process of completion may have dragged on for a decade or more.[42] The *St. John*, expanding on ideas from the Santo Spirito paintings, was probably commissioned in 1544, and its completion may postdate the artist's visit to Rome in 1545. Despite the frequent assertion that Titian would first have had to go to Rome in order to produce a figure like this, he could equally be responding to Correggio's very similar figure of St. John on Patmos in the frescoes of the Parma Cathedral dome, which Titian saw in 1529. Once again: far more at issue here than Rome was the legacy of Pordenone.

In June 1543 Titian, at the behest of Paul III, attended the papal-imperial congress at Bussetto in Lombardy, some 15 kilometers

south of Cremona. Titian would have traveled by way of Verona and thus would have had to pass the vicinity of Cremona, where he could have seen Pordenone's astonishing frescoes in the Duomo, along with those of Romanino (see fig. 6.3). From Busseto it is a short distance to Cortemaggiore, where Pordenone had decorated the chapel of the Palavicino family in the church of the Annunziata in 1530. The physical heft of the figures and the illusionistic pyrotechnics of the plunging God the Father in the dome at Cortemaggiore clearly pointed to another possible future for northern Italian painting from Venice to Lombardy.

The 1540s is also when Titian expanded his operations in the peninsula, much as Pordenone had done in the previous decade. He succeeded in placing major works not only in Milan, as we have seen, but also in Florence (the Medici did not follow through with further commissions, although Titian visited in 1546), in Urbino (he had already sent works to the della Rovere court), and, most important, in Rome. The artist spent most of 1545 in Rome working for the Farnese, and this was where he met Michelangelo—whose *Leda* he alluded to in the *Danaë* (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte) for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. He must have been aware that he and Michelangelo were already being set up as opposing systems of artistic values, to which the integration and recasting of Michelangelo's sculptural Leda as a tender and fleshy Danaë was a calculated and virtuosic response.[43] While some art historians have seen the *Danaë* as nothing less than a declaration of war, notions of antagonism between the two artists are most likely overblown, largely on the basis of Vasari's hardly disinterested report in the 1568 *Vite* that Michelangelo, on seeing Titian's *Danaë*, had disparaged the lack of *disegno* on the part of Venetian artists. Even Dolce in 1557, although invested in the rivalry of Titian and Michelangelo, merely refers to "that loveliest of nude figures for the Cardinal Farnese, which Michelangelo saw with amazement more than once."[44]

Disappointed with his courtship of the Farnese, who were unable or unwilling to deliver a long-promised benefice for his son, the painter drew closer in this decade to the Habsburgs, a relation begun in Bologna in 1530 but advanced when Titian sent an *Annunciation* originally intended for the nuns of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Murano to the Empress Isabella in 1537. (The original patrons had rejected it because his price was too high.) Titian's status as the most internationally prominent artist in Italy was confirmed with his visit to the imperial court at Augsburg in 1548 and the consolidation of his privileged relation to the Habsburg family. The stakes were high, but being an "Italian" artist abroad was a role that Titian performed with characteristic ambition, producing not only magnificent state portraits but also monumental history paintings, which were commentaries on Italian art in the larger sense. With the latter Titian showed himself to be capable of holding his own as the equal of any other artist in Italy—not just Pordenone now, but also Michelangelo. For the château of Mary of Hungary at Binche, he produced compositions of epic horror and violence, the so-called *Four Great Sinners* (figs. 6.20, 6.21). These works, devoted to the agonistic muscular nude, far more assertively than works earlier in the decade, show Titian displaying his mastery of the Michelangelo effect.[45]

6.20 Titian, *Punishment of Sisyphus*. 1548–49. Oil on canvas, 237 × 216 cm. Madrid, Prado. Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

The *Four Great Sinners* signal Titian's sense of his new role as the emperor's Italian artist. The role seems to have prompted a systematic evaluation and recapitulation of the work of contemporaries, but only in paintings destined to be sent out of Italy, to the courts of the Habsburgs and their clients. His great *Adoration of the Trinity* or *La Gloria* was made for Charles V in 1552–54 and taken by the emperor to his postabdication retirement hermitage at the abbey of Yuste (fig. 6.22). The composition was recorded and circulated in an engraving by Cornelis Cort, made under Titian's supervision: it could thus be compared with other canvases by leading artists, reproduced and circulated in the same way, most notably Michelangelo's controversial *Last Judgment*. Particularly striking about the composition

6.21 Titian, *Punishment of Tityus*. 1548–49. Oil on canvas. 253 × 217 cm. Madrid, Prado. Credit: Museo Nacional del Prado / Art Resource, NY.

is the confident use Titian makes of the work of fellow artists, in ways that the polemical construction then taking shape of Titian as champion of the "Venetian tradition" hardly allows for. Although *La Gloria* does not quote directly from Michelangelo's great Vatican fresco, it clearly solicits comparison with it. Moreover, Titian borrows unashamedly from Lorenzo Lotto's Carmine altarpiece (see fig. 4.1)—the very painting that would soon be savagely maligned by his own supporters in Dolce's *Aretino*—and, in his heavily veiled Virgin, from a popular composition by Savoldo of the *Magdalene* (see fig. 5.21). Titian's ambition here could now be described as an emulative one, a bid to summarize and to outperform his fellow practitioners in Italy. With the likenesses of Charles V, Isabella of Portugal, and Philip II prominent among the heavenly hosts, the painting also flaunts Titian's imperially recognized distinction as a portraitist, certainly a basis in which he could claim distinction over Michelangelo.

Nonetheless, such overt engagement with the work of contemporaries becomes increasingly rare in Titian's commissions for locations in Venice and northern Italy, a circumstance already apparent in some key works of the 1540s. In Italy, there are no paintings like the *Adoration of the Trinity*, in which Titian confronts all that for him was noteworthy in contemporary Italian art. The field in Italy was now dominated by regionalizing preoccupations that foreclosed this kind of engagement

6.22 Titian, *Adoration of the Trinity (La Gloria)*. 1552–54. Oil on canvas. 346 × 240 cm. Madrid, Prado. Credit: Museo Nacional del Prado / Art Resource, NY.

for Titian, who was increasingly understood as the Venetian rival to the Tuscan Michelangelo. Partisan regional lines are drawn with the appearance in 1550 of Vasari's *Lives*, and more forcibly with the 1568 edition, where Venetian readers would have been comforted to read that Salviati's *Adoration of Psyche* was "la più bell'opera di pittura che sia in tutta Vinezia."[46] One of the most opulent state commissions of the decade was the monumental series of tapestries (1550–52) for San Marco depicting the Life and Miracles of St. Mark. Not only were

these woven by the Florence-based firm of Jacob Rost, but they were explicitly designed in the florid Mannerist idiom of Salviati or of Raphael's Roman followers. The iconography of Venetian statehood, of the "myth of Venice," with personifications and with topographical views of the city itself, was being given monumental form by means of central Italian *disegno*. Families such as the Grimani were overtly partisan in their support of central Italian artists and recruited the Venetian Michelangelo follower Battista Franco to decorate their chapel in San Francesco della Vigna, where he was succeeded by Federico Zuccari in 1564.[47] It was thus in Titian's interest to present an alternative, at least to his local Venetian audience.

Ludovico Dolce and the Invention of Venetian Painting

The promotion of Titian outside Venice was enabled by willing publicists among the Venetian literary community, chiefly Pietro Aretino, whose own portrait—accompanied by a letter from Aretino himself—was sent to Cosimo de' Medici in 1545. It was Aretino who in this decade was largely responsible for the fateful characterization of Titian in terms of *colore* and through rather literal conceptions of naturalism, qualities, according to Aretino, that set him apart from Michelangelo. The famous distinction (or was it a disabling polorization?) first occurs in a letter from Aretino to Paolo Manuzio from 1542, in which the former praises the writer Sperone Speroni with the metaphorical claim that anyone who knows his works will recognize that "he draws like Michelangelo" and "colors like Titian."[48] The *paragone* of Michelangelo's *disegno* and Titian's *colore* was immediately taken up by Francesco Sansovino in 1543 and by Savoldo's pupil Paolo Pino in his *Dialogue on Painting* from 1548.[49] For Pino, the three parts of painting—*disegno*, *colore*, *invenzione*—all found their most perfect expression in the artistic trio Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian. All of Italian art, for the literati, was now conceivable in shorthand terms under three proper names—so it would be for Ludovico Dolce in 1557, despite his pluralist inclusion of other artists, and even for Vasari. From the 1550s the parsing of the individual styles of these artists became aggravated by more polemical, regionally polarizing comparisons.

Dolce's *Aretino* of 1557 was certainly written as a rejoinder to Vasari, and as a measured response to the prestige of central Italian art in Venice. Most notably, Dolce is careful to avoid any appearance of parochial regionalism: he praises an array of artists across the peninsula, while several Venetian artists come in for harsh criticism, among them Sebastiano del Piombo, the Bellini, and the Vivarini (the latter two are pronounced to be "morte e fredde").[50] The artistic preferences of others are invalidated as proceeding only from affection for one's homeland. For instance, against Aretino's Florentine interlocutor Fabrini, a fairly inept defender of Michelangelo, Aretino retorts, "you love your countryman to such a point of blindness that you consider only the works of Michelangelo as gold, and regard the remainder as cheap lead."[51] While the mighty Ariosto had acclaimed the "divinity" of Michelangelo, his authority is undermined because elsewhere, beguiled by love for his native Ferrara ("egli dall'amor della patria fosse state ingannato"), he had praised the eccentric

Dossi brothers. (From the belittling perspective of Dolce, of course, there was something threatening about the Dossi, one apparently trained in Venice and the other in Rome: as a composite alignment of *disegno* and *colore*, they contest the ultimate triumph of the unity to be unveiled in Titian.)[52] Raphael embodies all the qualities of perfect painting lacking in Michelangelo that will be perfected in Titian: naturalism, a quality of easefulness or *facilità*, pleasurableness, and charm—*piacevolezza*, *venustà*, and a notable modification of a term made famous by Castiglione, *convenevole sprezzatura*, "effortlessness with propriety."[53] While Pino in 1548 had praised foreshortened figures as a key manifestation of the power of art—a significant proposition in the year that Tintoretto makes his tumultuous debut with *St. Mark Liberating the Slave* for the Scuola di San Marco—that position is radically revised by Dolce, who has Aretino remark that foreshortenings undermine the pleasure of viewers and that painting was invented primarily in order to give pleasure.[54]

As Venetian elites inclined ever more toward central Italian art, Titian's practice—discursively framed by Aretino, Dolce, Vasari, and other writers like Speroni—became a way of conceptualizing the Venetian as distinct from the Roman. Such a polemical polarization of Venice and Rome began to exert its pressures on Titian's decision making. The problem, now, was this: emulation of Rome and of an ancient and modern canon was necessary for any artist—especially any Italian artist—with a claim to more than local status. Dolce, by claiming that the 1516 *Assumption* manifests the "grandeza e terribilità" of Michelangelo and the "piacevolezza e venustà" of Raphael, is even suggesting that Venetian art has to assimilate and surpass the Roman. Particular praise is reserved for Battista Franco, the one reassuring presence who counters *L'Aretino*'s misgivings that painting was losing its way because younger artists "who could have been exceptional have succumbed to avarice and expend little or no effort on their works."[55] Tintoretto is conspicuous by the complete omission of his name from the dialogue.

We have seen that artists like Lotto, Cesare da Sesto, and Dürer occasionally invoked "Rome" as a symbolic allegiance to an ideal of civilization or a cultural memory, but not to a style. Yet how could Titian now invoke Rome, when for an Italian audience he had been cast as the archrival of Michelangelo, and when "the Roman" was now conceived by writers like Vasari as scarcely distinguishable from Michelangelo? Engaging with the modern manner of Rome would from the 1550s onward only be seen as an attempt to compete with Michelangelo, to settle for a situation in which Titian would be defined by comparison with his contemporary. The odd qualities of the *Crowning with Thorns* are already, in 1542, a sign of Titian's grappling with the difficulty of positioning with regard to Rome when making a work for an Italian location: for instance, the anatomically fraught evocation of the *Laocoön* is so much more tentative than the confident remaking of it in the Brescia altarpiece twenty years before, and the assertive Michelangelisms of the *Four Great Sinners* from less than a decade later. We shall see that while Titian might have recognized the imperative of self-positioning, he ultimately refused to do so according to the terms of the writers.

The Placelessness of Titian's Late Style

By the mid-1540s Titian's art for locations in Italy discloses preoccupations of its own, which had the effect of turning him away from the protocols of emulation and toward an experimental and self-referential concern with the making of sacred art.[56] The effects of suspended drama in the Milan *Crowning with Thorns* are more apparent in a contemporaneous work made for a private domestic location: the *Ecce Homo* installed in Palazzo Talenti d'Anna in Venice, and now in Vienna (fig. 6.23). On the basis of a *cartellino* inscribed "TITIANUS EQUES CES F 1543," the picture is conventionally dated to that year, although the authenticity of the *cartellino* has been questioned.[57] One recent account of this painting has underscored the centrality of concerns with cultural and national identity: the patron, Zuanne

6.23 Titian, *Ecce Homo*. 1543. On canvas, 242 × 361 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

d'Anna, was a member of a Dutch merchant family that had settled in Venice in 1537, and his father, Martino van dem Haanen, already endowed with an imperial knighthood, would become a full citizen of the republic in 1545.[58] The painting is thus seen to negotiate the dual identity of Zuanne d'Anna as both an aspiring "new" Venetian and an imperial subject, his connection to the empire signaled heraldically with the prominent Habsburg eagle on a soldier's shield. If the thesis that the patron's investment in "becoming Venetian" is at all a factor in the production of this painting, it might be asked how, at this date, the assumption of Venetian identity could be professed by pictorial means? Is there a model for "being Venetian" that a Netherlandish expatriate could draw upon?

Certainly, the horizontal format and the incorporation of portraits in a sacred narrative recall the characteristic form of community statement represented by paintings for the Venetian *scuole*, such as Titian's own *Presentation of the Virgin* of 1538 (fig. 6.15). Yet in terms of iconographic models, scholars have drawn attention to Titian's use of prints by Dürer (fig. 6.24) and possibly by Lucas van Leyden of the same subject. Dürer's engraving may have motivated the inclusion of the heavy-set Jewish elder in vermilion and the arrangement of the composition on the steps, including a seated boy below the figure of Christ. Nonetheless, the result cannot simply be described as a hybrid of Venetian *scuola* painting and transalpine prints: the dramatic effect differs pointedly from both. Dürer adopted the convention of showing Christ presented by Pontius Pilate, who utters the words "Behold the man" to a gesturing, jeering crowd, whose ugliness signals a condition of baseness or bereftness of grace. Such an appearance does not characterize the heterogeneous array of beholders of Christ's humanity that Titian has introduced, many of whom bear distinct, portrait-like features that may have been recognizable to the painting's original viewers. Ridolfi claimed to recognize Aretino in the person of Pilate and

6.24 Albrecht Dürer, *Ecce Homo*, from *The Large Passion*. 1510. Engraving, 39 × 28.5 cm. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art. Credit: Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection.

to see Emperor Charles V and Suleiman "King of the Turks" among the bystanders. More recent identifications include the imperial general and viceroy of Milan Alfonso d'Avalos, mounted and in armor; the Carmelite preacher and future apostate Bernardo Ochino (the bearded man looking toward Avalos), and various members of the d'Anna family (the woman in white with her child seems to provide a secularizing counterpoint to the words of Pilate, *ecce puer*). Such portrait identifications, not all of them convincing, suggest a desire to reconcile the picture's anomalies by ascribing to it a confessional coherence, a utopian dialogue on faith, or a collective witnessing of the drama of salvation by representatives of different polities and religious persuasions.[59]

The disposition of the crowd in response to Christ and to Pilate's words ranges from unruly pointing and gesticulation, to a detached composure appropriate to portraits, to a motivational opacity; some figures address their attention elsewhere, while several seem to converse among themselves. The group on the steps seems to have paused in their advance toward Christ, and may even be about to draw away. Once again, in an intensification of effects noted in the *Crowning with Thorns* for Milan, in no case is the countenance of any one of these more dynamic participants visible; each is screened by the arms of other figures, or they turn their backs on us. One such figure, the soldier with the Habsburg eagle on his shield, seems poised on the very edge of the painting, as if leaning and backing out into the beholder's space. As the most strongly modeled and volumetrically persuasive figure in the painting, he embodies the haptic *rilievo* effects typical of Titian's earlier painting, serving as a transitional element between the beholder's world and the pictorial space, retreating from Christ as if to prescribe the disposition of the beholder regarding the entirety of the scene. He is closely akin to the innermost of the two soldiers in the contemporaneous Milan altarpiece, even to the extent of wearing identical green-scaled armor.[60] Like them, he appears to model a relationship to the painting that is not that of gestural pathos or emotionally affective expression: it is largely phenomenological, an attempt to compress contemplative distance with immersive engagement.

The painting, unlike Dürer's print, is void of emotional cues to the beholder. The one overt manifestation of emotion that is not blocked from our view is that of the youth seated on the steps below Christ—a more grown-up version of Dürer's oblivious little boy—whose dog barks at the crowd. His posture and facial features suggest he is startled or frightened, but by what? He has not been looking at the drama unfolding behind him; it is not to be assumed that he is even aware of it. Something is splitting apart here: gestural and physiognomic rhetoric, the manifestation of *affetti*, is detaching itself—yet not fully—from the logic of narrative. Rhetorical forms—that is, the expressive pantomime of gesture and expression for which Mantegna, Leonardo, and Raphael had all been admired—has become divorced from rhetorical function or narrative context. Once again, however, an imitation by Schiavone from the 1560s suggests a critique and a corrective clarification of an anomaly in Titian: in Schiavone's painted response (private collection), which adheres in key compositional respects to Titian's *Ecce Homo*, there are no portraits, no shield-bearing soldier, and the

boy on the steps turns to look at Christ.[61]

The painting is an amalgam of visual codes—Christian iconography, gesture, physiognomy, portraiture, heraldry—that maintains the effect of a composite rather than anything approaching a unity. Even so, some sanguine commentators, like Puttfarken again, insist on the Aristotelian "dramatic" unity of Titian's treatment of the scene.[62] Others have linked the painting to Aretino's recent devotional work *L'Umanità di Cristo* (1539), which might well explain the appearance of Aretino in the role of Pontius Pilate. Aretino had drawn on a tradition of Passion exegesis that saw Pilate not as an agent of persecution but as a convert to Christianity who denied the guilt of Christ.[63] Although Aretino is sometimes offered as the basis for a more thorough explanation of what is taking place in the picture—almost as if he himself were its "author"—his treatment of this Gospel episode is strikingly at odds with the picture itself. Aretino characterizes the crowd as so debased with rage that they are compared to ants gorging themselves on grain, to tigers separated from their young, or to flies swarming around milk. Titian's bystanders display none of these bestialized characteristics; a few wave their arms, but their faces are obscured.[64] If Aretino's text is to be characterized as an instance of early modern Christianity trying to remove "objectifying distance between the believer and the death of Christ," as one commentator states, such a statement hardly describes what Titian is doing.[65] Titian's staging of the Ecce Homo, a foundational moment in Christian revelation and one that authorized the tradition of Christian images of the suffering Christ, involves a dialectic of pictorial effects. Relations founded on a kind of bodily participation—the soldier with the shield, the yelling boy—rather than on vision alone, are contrasted with the visual, perspectival "staging" of the event. The cumulative effect is of a kind of atrophy, a liquidation of narrative and affective formulas around the paradoxically humiliated but potent image of Christ. One thinks again of Ridolfi's comment on the Milan *Crowning with Thorns*, on the "wondrous effects of that divine image" and its power over beholders. The *Ecce Homo* could be seen as directing beholders to a realization of their distance from Christ and to the possibility that their devotional struggle to comprehend the paradoxical human and divine godhead is exacerbated at this moment of the Passion narrative.[66]

Titian's painting is a serious—and radical—attempt to reconceive the language of religious narrative painting, refusing the "unities" of a narrative economy represented by Aretino or by the more austere formulations of Aristotle, or, we might say, by the codes of textual narrative, or by Raphael's pictorial histories (prints or a tapestry design) that Titian would have known in Venice. Thus, the *Ecce Homo* could for these reasons be more effectively described as an antidrama that liquidates pictorial rhetoric: it signals renunciation but also, I think, real struggle.

There is a prevailing sense of energies being unleashed yet forcibly contained. Some of the most dynamic figures are reminiscent of the contemporary paintings for Santo Spirito, yet here they appear struck through and canceled by more static figures closer to the picture plane. That dynamic gestural energy canceled here will break forth a decade later, with unconstrained exuberance, in the *Gloria*

for Charles V (see fig. 6.22). But that—I insist on the significance of this—is a work made for a destination beyond Venice.

Contemporaries may have been struck by the disparity between Titian's *Ecce Homo* and the frescoes by Pordenone that originally adorned the façade of the Palazzo d'Anna, with their virtuosic Romanism and tumultuous *trompe l'oeil*. In the ensuing years, Titian in his Italian works "becomes Venetian" increasingly by opting out of any dialogue with artistic contemporaries or predecessors. As with the *Ecce Homo*'s reference to his earlier *Presentation of the Virgin* (see fig. 6.15), the only artistic precedent is his own previous works.[67] That Titian wanted to avoid comparison with his Italian colleagues is indicated in a remark ascribed to him by the Spanish royal secretary Antonio Pérez, in which the painter explains that his broad brushwork and impasto constituted a "new path": "I am not confident of achieving the delicacy and beauty of the brushwork of Michelangelo, Raphael, Correggio and Parmigianino; and if I did, I would be judged with them, or else be considered to be an imitator. But ambition, which is as natural in my art as in any other, urges me to choose a new path to make myself famous, much as the others acquired their own fame from the way that they followed."[68] Pérez is writing in 1603, more than thirty years after the artist's death, but even if apocryphal, the remark indicates that contemporaries understood the late style as a form of self-positioning that sought to place itself beyond the emulation of others.

The refusal of dialogue is even more pronounced in the case of an upstart young Venetian rival, and alleged former pupil. Tintoretto had emerged with a spectacular and controversial commission for the Scuola di San Marco in 1548, the year of Titian's absence at Augsburg. In the *St. Mark and the Slave* (now Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia), Tintoretto took the step that Titian increasingly held back from taking: the assimilation of Michelangelo's dynamic and foreshortened bodies—as well as those of Titian's 1516 *Assumption* in the Frari (see fig. 4.30)—into a synthesis characterized by the energetic painterly mark. Much of the turn in Titian's art over the following decade might well be driven by the imperative of avoiding comparison with Tintoretto—even to the extent of making his own works somehow unavailable to assimilation or appropriation by younger artists. There are no more paintings like the ones made for Santo Spirito or the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista: after 1550 it was Tintoretto who supplied this kind of work.[69] Tintoretto was also better at playing the separatist, patriotic Venetian—not leaving home, producing few works for export, and aligning himself with writers representing a distinctly regionalist, subaltern, and anti-Bemboist strain of Venetian literary culture.[70]

Why did Titian take so long to finish the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* for the Church of the Crociferi (fig. 6.25)? Commissioned by Lorenzo Massolo following Titian's return from Rome in 1546, it appears to have been completed and installed several years after the client's death in 1557, when his widow, Elisabetta Querini—a close friend of Titian and of Bembo—assumed responsibility for the commission.[71] Was the delay the result of an initial lack of follow-through on her part, or the unfinished condition of the site—or was it hesitation by Titian himself? He had been called on to depict a subject with an ancient Roman setting.

This made turning to exemplars of Roman art and architecture inevitable, and the pressure on the artist to confront this imperative must have been intensified by his visit to Rome in 1545. Titian turned to a work of classical sculpture housed in Venice, part of a collection that had become a civic expression of Venice itself: the *Dying Gladiator* that had formed part of Cardinal Domenico Grimani's bequest of antiquities to the state in 1523. His adaptation, however, has the appearance of an improvisation on the canvas rather than any attempt to transmit the foreshortened volume of a sculpture. The foreshortening of the saint's right leg is far from botched when looked at close up, but from a viewing distance of a few feet it disturbingly truncates the limb. (It is, pointedly, not how Salviati had rendered a similarly foreshortened figure—based on Michelangelo's Medici Chapel *Dawn*—on the vault of the Stanza di Apollo at Palazzo Grimani in 1540.)[72] However persuasive the saint's tormentors might be as corporeal presences, they are even more cursory in their rendering: their relative positions in space are hard to read and create no perspective, while they obey no consistent system of proportions. The work turns its back on some of the elementary principles of *disegno*, while as a demonstration of *colorito*, in its near monochrome and its shadowy obscurity, it seems to be reaching for extremes. Strong chiaroscuro had been employed by Raphael and Giulio Romano to enhance the effect of relief in their figures as well as for its dramatic potential, yet here darkness seems to envelop figures and to render them indistinct, just as the fiery illumination dissolves contours and makes surfaces appear without boundaries. Again, the contrast with the works Titian sent

6.25 Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.* 1559. On canvas, 493 × 277 cm. Venice, I Gesuiti. Credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice /Art Resource, NY.

6.26 Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. 1571. On canvas, 440 × 320 cm. El Escorial, Real Monastero de San Lorenzo. Credit: Album / Art Resource, NY.

to Spain in the 1550s is pronounced. *Venus and Adonis*, *Europa*, *Danaë*, *Diana and Actaeon*, *Perseus and Andromeda* all show a far more assertive command of anatomy and foreshortening, as well as a comfortable assimilation of antique sculptural models; they employ a luminous, flaring polychromy no matter how dark, tragic, or violent the mood. It is ironic, then, that Philip II, hearing of the completion of Titian's altarpiece, requested a second version, even a copy, for his new basilica of the Escorial, dedicated to St. Lawrence (fig. 6.26). That the clergy of the Crociferi were all too willing to sell their version to the king indicates that

from their point of view, the commission had been less than a resounding success. Titian forestalled this by insisting on making an entirely new painting. He may have wanted to dispel rumors that he was half-blind and unable to work, but perhaps he felt there was a hesitant or tentative quality in the Venice work that made it unsuited to his self-presentation in the international arena.[73]

In any event, the version sent to the Escorial in 1567 failed to satisfy its royal patron. The king's iteration of the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* is still a disturbing picture with many visually perplexing elements, even if the murky obscurity of the original version has been relieved. Gone is the perspective of Corinthian columns atop a flight of steps, replaced now with a lofty arch giving on to a moonlit sky. Figures are more tightly resolved and strongly modeled; they are also distinguishable through a richer palette of colors. Titian has taken greater pains over the saint's anatomy: instead of a perfunctory foreshortening, his right leg and hip are now flexed so as to parallel the picture plane. For a work destined to be sent outside Italy, Titian produced a composition that seems more confidently romanizing than his original version for Venice. And yet some of the revisions bring further tensions: while the opening up of the space through bodies that assert a kind of sculptural volume is a clear departure from the previous work, that spacing effect is generated by a disruption that risks compromising the work's narrative and affective unity. Who is the barefoot boy dressed in bright green, and what is he doing? Pushing his way through the crowd, his purpose seems less to clarify the narrative than to force a breach in what might otherwise be read as an undifferentiated mass of inchoate bodies. He is, I would propose, related in function to the foreground figures in the *Crowning with Thorns* and the *Ecce Homo*: the purpose of all these figures, inscrutable in terms of narrative function, is to manifest a pictorial effect. That effect is conceivable as the opposite of perspectival distancing, the interval between viewer and painting that enables us to grasp the work as a whole. The effect, that is to say, creates a kind of closeness or immersion in the painting, a virtual projection by the beholder into the picture, in this case, imagining a physical motion *through* the picture, as if one could push through its very substance. Here, using such a figure enables Titian to be less dependent on geometric perspective, which was far more emphatically deployed in the earlier version but is now only vestigially present in the intrados of the arch. The arch, in fact, suggests an opening in the surface of the painting, enabling Titian to evoke *bodily* access by the observer to the resistant and materially dense "interior" beyond the surface. Along with the frenzy of the boy pushing against the masses crowding that surface, a level of force or aggression against the picture plane is underscored by the blazing torch, foreshortened toward the plane, which has been planted in the metal ring held in the mouth of a grotesque mask. At first glance, it looks as though the stone relief has been breached, stabbed through. All of these rupturing effects are absent or muted in the Venice version.

In general, the characteristic features of Titian's late style are manifested differently in Italy than elsewhere: a vehemence, even violence of execution combines with a growing estrangement from Renaissance (for example,

6.27 Titian, *Annunciation*. 1564. On canvas, 403 × 235 cm. Venice, San Salvador. Credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY.

Raphaelesque) narrative modes of relationality among figures, together with a refusal of dialogue with contemporary art. These are all characteristic of works as different as the (literally) flamboyant *Annunciation* for San Salvador of 1564, for Antonio Cornovi della Vecchia (fig. 6.27), and the austere *Crucifixion* for another member of the same family, installed at San Domenico in Ancona about 1560 and still *in situ*. The latter, in its looking back at

the ritualized gestures of grief characteristic of much older altarpiece imagery, also turns away from the artist's previous altarpiece for Ancona, painted thirty years before (fig. 4.27).

This means that within a few years of the publication of *L'Aretino*, Titian is painting in a style that overtly thwarts Dolce's characterization of his work in terms of naturalism and sensuous allure. The San Salvador *Annunciation* may indicate the extent to which the painter appreciated the dialogue's identification of him with Raphael, or "nature," or the "decorous virtuosity" (convenevole sprezzatura). It is significant that in his defense of Titian's Naples *Annunciation*, Maranta had accounted for its anomalies by characterizing them as "metafora pitturale." Maranta saw analogies in Titian's "metaphoric" departures from observable reality in the service of religious meaning with Michelangelo's poetic and allegorical approach in the *Last Judgment*—a painting roundly condemned by Aretino and by the Aretino character in Dolce's dialogue.[74] In its lack of delicacy and diligence, in its licentious approach to traditional iconographies, the San Salvador version further flouts *L'Aretino*'s pronouncements on decorum, on naturalism, on *grazia*, and even on intelligibility. In its enigmatic transformation of traditional iconographic codes, the painting produces the very effect for which *L'Aretino* censured Michelangelo's fresco. The Virgin lifts her veil, thus eroticizing the encounter in terms recalling the Song of Songs (a bed, now very hard to see, appears behind her); a vase of roses bursts into flames. The angel, even more disquietingly, crosses his arms in a gesture normally associated with the Virgin's pious acquiescence: "Fiat mihi secundum Verbum tuum" (it was thus that she appeared in Titian's now-lost 1537 *Annunciation*, originally for Murano. See fig. 4.18). Correspondingly, her own raised right hand and her genuflecting posture recall a common traditional portrayal of the angel. A pantomime of young angels above makes sure that we notice this: the Virgin's gesture is echoed by a nude male angel above Gabriel, who makes a gesture of greeting or acclamation reminiscent of Gabriel's salutation in traditional Annunciations; over the Virgin a clothed and feminine angel makes the traditional cross-armed sign of acquiescence. In such gender reversals, is there a sense that Titian is signaling a resistance to other binary categories and differences that organize pictorial aesthetics—such as, for instance, *disegno/colore*, or *prospettiva/rilievo*, or even "Titian"/Michelangelo?

The *Annunciation* was one of a small group of Titian inventions engraved by Cornelis Cort at the painter's behest in 1566–67, and the only one of this group that relates to an Italian commission later than the 1540s. Cort's version of the *Annunciation* necessarily entails a complete translation of Titian's painterly late "Venetian" manner into a flowing but precise linear ductus and a more legible pictorial structure (fig. 6.10); the work was thus made known to a larger European public in terms of qualities of *disegno* quite foreign to its original conception, making it seem as if it had more in common with the others that Cort engraved. For the most part, this select "canon" of Titians strikingly but tellingly avoids his recent Italian production; the group included *La Gloria* (for which Titian additionally secured a privilege from the Council of Ten), the *Tityus* for Mary of Hungary, the *Diana and Callisto* for Philip II, a version of the penitent *Magdalene*

6.28 Cornelis Cort after Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. 1571. Engraving, 50.3 × 34.9 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Credit: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949.

originally painted for Federico Gonzaga in the 1520s and repeated several times since, a composition of *Ruggiero Rescuing Angelica* based very loosely on Ariosto, and a *St. Jerome*, the latter two probably based on designs not realized as paintings. Although it is not at all clear that the *Annunciation* formed part of the group of six prints sent in 1567 to the Dutch humanist Domenic Lampsonius, who had fostered the original connection to Cort, those he received elicited a letter from the scholar praising Titian as a universal artist unbounded by regional specializations and polarizing distinctions. Commenting on the *St. Jerome*,

Lampsonius wrote that Titian had "by a long way stolen the reputation for landscape from our Flemish landscape painters (because you Italians are the winners as regards figures) in that aspect of painting in which we [Flemings] thought to hold the field."[75] Lampsonius wanted to see more paintings by Titian "in print," notably asking that Cort make an engraving of the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. That which Cort produced in 1571 is a careful synthesis of the Escorial and Crociferi versions, and the engraver went to considerable lengths to clarify and solidify anatomical details and surface modeling left inchoate or obscured by shadow in Titian's originals (fig. 6.28). Yet it is telling that as the "Venetian School" comes into existence through such publicity, and would achieve immeasurable success in the subsequent history of academic art, it did not make a strong impression on Titian's erstwhile Habsburg supporters. Titian's failure to produce a high altarpiece for the Escorial with the *St. Lawrence* of 1567 was followed by equally unsuccessful bids from El Greco (*Martyrdom of the Theban Legion*, 1579) and by unsuccessful negotiations with Veronese and Tintoretto, whose trial pieces were delivered in 1583. Philip II turned to Federico Zuccari and Pellegrino Tibaldi, artists far less constrained by regional identification, whose careers had been shaped by travel and by a transregional orientation of which Lomazzo would have approved.[76]

Titian's late style has been characterized as a heightened pursuit of the sublime, or *terribilità*—a quality normally held to be the domain of Michelangelo, and associated in literary aesthetics with Dante.[77] Dolce's characterization of the painter's *terribilità* was based on the early *Assumption* of 1516 (see fig. 4.30), but Titian's late sublime has little to do with Dolce's imperatives of grace, naturalism, or pleasurable allure; nor does it any longer entail an emulative opposition to Michelangelo. Lomazzo recognized the character of *terribilità* in Titian but saw this as an instance of his singularity, not of synthesis or assimilation. Whereas Raphael used "a light that was tender, amorous and mild," Titian "ultimately employed a keen and terrible illumination by which he alone with his fury and grandeur won the victory above all others in the rendering of things in *rilievo*, even if in *disegno* and contours he was in many ways inferior."[78] Normally identified with the domain of the feminine, with *morbidezza* (softness) or *tenero della natura* (tenderness of nature), as in the case of Raphael, color in Titian is a means of achieving sublime, tumultuous, and forceful effects of lighting and relief: he is achieving Michelangelesque effects without any emulative synthesis of Michelangelo's technical means. Titian's development of a "sublime" style, which departs from the grace and refinement of lyric, amounts to far more than a switching of stylistic categories or modes, by turning from Petrarch to Dante. Rather, Titian is thinking against the categories of the literati—his work occupies a point of categorical undoing, which perhaps can be marked as "Dante," but which also seeks to work against literary typology, above all with regard to a prescribed rhetorical and affective impact.

Furthermore, Titian's Italian work by the 1550s, and in a few works from the preceding decade, is seeking to distance itself from the opposition *disegno*/*colore* so fetishized by the literati, and from any claim to be performing its synthesis. His work is sustained by anoth-

er dualism altogether, one that had intermittently manifested itself in his earlier works, where he showed a preoccupation with the differentials in sensory experience that the art of painting could engage: sight and touch, the optic and the haptic. Or, as a literate person from Titian's own time would have said, *prospettiva* and *rilievo*. The former is manifest through the kind of notionally measurable, distanced view; as we saw with the *Presentation of the Virgin*, it is the spacing interval of the gaze that keeps figures in a painting apart, that keeps the beholder apart from the painting so he or she can grasp the whole.

I have already referred to the effects of montage, the juxtaposition of elements that do not appear entirely assimilated in the work from the 1540s onward. It becomes now ever more important in Titian's painting to create an exasperated confrontation of pictorial effects, where one is, as it were, forced against the other. Pictorial relief, the illusion that elements in a painting stand out from the pictorial surface and extend into the world of the viewer, is compressed into an uneasy coexistence with perspective, where visually "active" bodies are separated and distinguished in a measurable space. Titian's unsettling transformation of familiar narratives and their affective register is in large part owing to the drama of noncoherence that determined the composition of works like the Milan *Crowning with Thorns*. Now, it is as if seeing Christ at the viewer's beholding distance is complicit in the violence that is being rendered on his person, while closeness entails a kind of absorption or suspended motion that requires contact—as if the beholder has entered the painting through the proxy of certain figures rendered in terms of an intensified hapticality, like the soldier kneeling with the sword (his embrace of his neighbor seems to be an assurance of the volume and tactility of the painted figure). The very similar figure in the d'Anna *Ecce Homo*, equally suggestive of the nonintegrative juxtaposition of a strongly haptic figure with a volume of perspective space, underscores the beholder's lack of access to the pictorial world, even to a sense of unbroachable distance from his own humanity to that of Christ. The haptic emphasis, here again, goes with a refusal of physiognomic codes of conventionalized response, a refusal of standardized emotional terms of engagement. It is as if that which must now "see," or be the agent of perception, is the entire body, not just the eye.

Closeness indicates a level of absorption that takes us beyond the normal decorum of response. That is nowhere more the case than with the extraordinary violence of the later pictures, notably the *Flaying of Marsyas* (now Kroměříž, Czech Republic).[79] The tragic sense is curiously understated here—mainly because several of the protagonists are engaged at a level of closeness in which the horror of the spectacle is not apparent: their relation is one of wonder, or curious immersion in a surface or texture. Getting close, getting absorbed, indicates a suspension of action and of violence. This is what is happening in the astonishing late *Lamentation* conceived for Titian's own tomb in the Frari, where it briefly—and controversially—supplanted a miracle-working crucifix. He had conceived his *Pietà* as no less than an image of miraculous efficacy, even incorporating the votive panels and wax offerings that testified to that efficacy (fig. 6.29).[80] Here the *mise-en-scène*

6.29 Titian, *Lamentation*. 1570–76. On canvas, 352 × 349 cm. Venice, Accademia. Credit: Alinari / Art Resource, NY.

is emphatically sculptural, with colossal statues of Moses and the Hellespontine Sibyl, a massive rusticated arch, and two huge lion protomes, which make the painting evocative of a common Roman sarcophagus relief. The Magdalene, striding forward "out" of the painting, looks beyond its frame toward the distant altar (and toward Titian's fifty-year-old *Assumption* altarpiece), but St. Jerome (whom some identify as a self-portrait of Titian), on his hands and knees, draws close to the gleaming flesh of Christ with a sense of wonder. As if viewed from Jerome's close-up perspective, the painted flesh seems to liquefy and turn to

a flickering optical species, a surface as yet mobile and unfixed like the roughly indicated pelican in the shimmering mosaic above. It is hard to resist the sense that Titian is analogizing the "sublime" *rilievo* of his work to sculpture here, and that certain loose (in every sense) evocations of Michelangelo's sculpture (the *Moses*, the St. Peter's *Pietà*) serve as a visual code for the emphatic hapticity that his work had long pursued. The notion that Titian was "competing with Michelangelo" in a work to mark his own death seems quite beside the point here; the assimilation of looking to touching eclipses concerns about the imitation of Michelangelo.[81]

Titian's late style is an assault on the integrity of categories and differences of every kind, where normally dichotomized modes of sensory experience are forced (often violently) into a kind of synesthetic coexistence: light and air become flame-like, matter seems to liquefy, to resemble molten gold or silver or even blood, the codes of gender shift between protagonists. All of this suggests a destabilizing flux or vitality within the visible world, which it is his pictorial task to reveal.[82] This no longer has anything to do with Venice or with being Venetian. That was now the role of Tintoretto, of Jacopo Bassano, and, above all, of Veronese.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Antonio Paolucci, preface to *Giovanni Bellini*, ed. Mauro Lucco and Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2008), 14.

2. Paolucci, preface to *Giovanni Bellini*, 14.

3. Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 4 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–92).

4. Paolucci, preface to *Giovanni Bellini,* 15.

5. Datings of Bellini's undocumented altarpiece have ranged from 1470 to 1481; Roberto Longhi rejected his initial proposal of 1470 in order to sustain the antecedence of Piero della Francesca's San Bernardino altarpiece for Urbino, which he believed Bellini to have seen. See the entry by Mauro Lucco in *Giovanni Bellini*, ed. Lucco and Villa, 190–94. On Zoppo's altarpiece, see Giacomo A. Calogero, "Nuove ricerche sulla pala di pesaro di Marco Zoppo," *Paragone* 112 (2013): 3–21.

6. For Crivelli as an alternative figure whose work resists contemporary Tuscan and Venetian norms, especially with regard to perspective and spatial illusion, see the various contributions to Stephen J. Campbell, ed., *Ornament and Illusion: Carlo Crivelli of Venice*, exh. cat. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2015).

7. For two very different but, I believe, complementary versions of this view, see Georges Didi-Hubermann, *Confronting Images: Questioning the ends of a Certain History of Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 85–107; and Charles Dempsey, *The Early Renaissance and Vernacular*

Culture (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 11–32.

8. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1952), 1

9. Sydney J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600* (Harmondsworth, UK: Pelican, 1971), 14.

10. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere, 2 vols. (London: Everyman, 1927, 1996), 1:23–24.

11. On Borghini's role in the second edition, see Patricia L. Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 190–97.

12. On the significance of Vasari's historiography, see Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History,* 190–97; and Alessandro Nova, "'Vasari' versus Vasari. La duplice attualità delle Vite," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 55, no. 2 (2013): 55–71.

13. Alessandro Nova, *Girolamo Romanino* (Turin: Allemandi, 1994), 33, 50n9: "si dice anchora che esso messer Hieronimo Romanino ha fatto opere di pictura laudabile secondo la sua maniera et nondimeno esso non e numerato nel numero de valenti dell'eta nostra i quali son pochi et rari, et perché di questi valenti se ne fa mencione indiversi lochi, come si può vedere nel suplimento de le croniche, ne le regole de Sebastian bolognese all III libro d'architettura in prencipio, et nel Ariosto al canto 33 et ne le opere di messer Speron et de l'Aretino et de molti altri celebri scriptori, quali fano mentione de valenti pictori cominciando da tempi antichi fino a quelli che vivono sino al dì d'oggi."

14. Stephen J. Campbell, "Vasari's Renaissance and Its Renaissance Alternatives," in *The Art Seminar: Renaissance Theory*, ed. James Elkins and Robert Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 47–69.

15. Carrie E. Beneš, *Urban Legends: Civic Identity and the Classical Past in Northern Italy, 1250–1350* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 18.

16. Campbell, "Vasari's Renaissance"; and Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph: The Cultural Politics of Imitation *all'antica* at the Court of Mantua, 1490–1530," in *Artists at Court: Image Making and Identity, 1300–1550*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), 91–106.

17. Gennaro Toscano, "*A lui cominciò ad rinovarsi la antiquità*. Per la fortuna di Andrea Mantegna a Napoli," in *Napoli e tutto il mondo*, ed. Livio Pestilli, Sebastian Schütze, and Ingrid Rowland (Rome: Fabrizio Serra, 2008), 79–99. For recent reassessments of Mantegna, see also the essays in *Mantegna: Making Art (History)*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell and Jérémie Koering (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015).

18. Stephen J. Campbell with Jérémie Koering, "In Search of Mantegna's Poetics: An Introduction," in *Mantegna: Making Art (History)*, 8–20.

19. As conceived by Ferdinando Bologna, *La coscienza storica dell'arte italiana* (Turin: UTET, 1982).

20. David Young Kim, *The Travelling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, and Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), is concerned with Vasari's attitude to traveling artists, underscoring how mobility threatened the impulse to localize styles in his text, which sought to bind the practitioners of the "good, modern manner" to two or three primary locations.

21. Vasari, "Life of Taddeo Zuccari," in *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. de Vere, 2:612 (my emphasis); original text, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (1906; reprint, Florence: Sansoni, 1981) (hereafter Vasari/Milanesi), 7:94.

22. Giovanna Valenzano, *La Basilica di San Zeno in Verona. Problemi architettonici; Rilievi* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1993), 78. For a detailed survey of the phenomenon, see David Boffa, "Artistic Identity Set in Stone: Sculptors' Signatures in Italy, c. 1250–1550" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 2011).

23. For a recent discussion of Giovanni Pisano's Pisa inscription, see Matthew G. Shoaf, "Giovanni Pisano's Marble Wounds: Beholding Artistic Self-Defense in the Pisa Cathedral Pulpit," in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 39–61.

24. Kim, *Travelling Artist*, 67–68, notes Vasari's inconsistency with toponymics, especially the designation of who is *fiorentino*. For recent discussions of artistic mobility see, for example, Serena Romano and Damien Cerutti, eds., *L'artista girovago. Forastieri, avventurieri, emigranti e missionari nell'arte del Trecento in Italia del nord* (Rome: Viella, 2012); Stephen J. Campbell and Michael W. Cole, *Italian Renaissance Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 256–84, 513–22, 584–97.

25. Keith Christiansen, "The Art of Gentile da Fabriano," in *Gentile da Fabriano and the Other Renaissance*, ed. Laura Laureati and Lorenzo Mochi Onori (Milan: Electa, 2006), 19–51. On Gentile's Oriental textiles and their pseudo-inscriptions, see Sylvia Auld, "Kuficising Inscriptions in the Work of Gentile da Fabriano," *Oriental Art* 32 (1986): 247–59. On the widespread practice of including west Asian textiles in Italian painting, see Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300–1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); and David Y. Kim, "Lotto's Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting," *Art Bulletin* 98 (2016): 181–213.

26. Luke Syson and Dillian Gordon, Pisanello: Painter to the Renaissance Court, exh. cat., London, National Gallery (New Haven: Yale University Press [distrib.], 2001), especially 190–235.

27. For recent perspectives on Agostino, see Arturo Calzona and Matteo Ceriana, eds., *Per un nuovo Agostino di Duccio: Studi e documenti* (Verona: Scripta, 2012). Here, Linda Pisani ("Osservazioni sulla Madonna di Pontremoli di Agostino di Duccio," 107–18) addresses the departure from Florentine typologies of the Madonna and Child relief in Agostino's Madonna for Pontremoli, a location then in Sforza territory between Tuscany and Liguria.

28. Giuseppe Fiocco, *L'arte di Andrea Mantegna* (Bologna: Apollo, 1927).

29. In his drive to promote the primary status of the Santo altar for Mantegna and for art in Padua, Roberto Longhi foreclosed this possibility in "Lettera pittorica a Giuseppe Fiocco (1926)," in *Saggi e Ricerche, 1925–1928* (Florence: Sansoni, 1967), 77–95, at 94, with his late dating and belittling assessment of Jacopo's drawings. But for John Pope-Hennessy (*Donatello: Sculptor* [New York: Abbeville, 1993], 238), "the visual evidence for Donatello's dependence in the Paduan reliefs on Jacopo Bellini is incontrovertible." On Donatello and style, see Ulrich Pfisterer, Donatello *und die Entdeckung der Stile, 1430–1445* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2002).

30. On the painters of the Marches and their migrations, see Andrea de Marchi, "Fra Carnevale, Urbino and the Marches: An Alternative View of the Renaissance," in *Fra Filippo Lippi to Piero della Francesca: Fra Carnevale and the Making of a Renaissance Master*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 67–97, at 80.

31. Regarding Fra Carnevale (Bartolomeo di Giovanni Corradini), Richard Offner wrote that he "was more than an eclectic: he was a nomad." Offner, "The Barberini Panels and Their Painter," in *Medieval Studies in Honor of Arthur Kingsley Porter*, ed. W. Kohler, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), 1:214.

32. Federico Zeri, "Renaissance and Pseudo-Renaissance," in *History of Italian Art* ed. Claire Dorey, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 2:326–72 (quotation on 372). On the imaginary geography underlying Zeri's thought as a connoisseur, see Emanuele Lugli, "Connoisseurship as a System: Reflections on Federico Zeri's 'Due dipinti, la filologia e un nome,'" *Word and Image* (2007): 162–75.

33. For an overview of the celebrity of Sienese painting in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Luke Syson, "Stylistic Choices," in *Renaissance Siena: Art for a City*, ed. Luke Syson, Alessandro Angelini, Philippa Jackson, and Fabrizio Nevola (London: National Gallery, 2007), 42–60.

34. Vasari/Milanesi, 6:380: "fece molte amicizie in Siena più per essere quell sangue amorevolissimo de' forestieri, che perché fusse buon pittore."

35. The Venetian Domenico Veneziano worked in Ferrara before settling in Florence, but his painting is in every respect consistent with Florentine painting of the generation after Masaccio.

36. On the altarpiece, a Malatesta dynastic memorial commissioned by Elisabetta Aldobrandini, see Jonathan K. Nelson, "Breaking Conventions: Donor Portraits in Ghirlandaio's Malatesta Altarpiece," in *The Art and Language of Power in Renaissance Florence: Essays for Alison Brown*, eds. Amy Bloch, Carolyn James, and Camilla Russell, Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies (in press).

37. Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. and trans. Steven Botterill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.12, at p. 29.

38. On the House of Anjou and its patronage, see Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414* (Rome: U. Bozzi, 1969); Pierluigi Leone De Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence: Cantini, 1986); and Cathleen A. Fleck, "The Rise of the Court Artist: Cavallini and Giotto in Fourteenth

Century Naples," *Art History* 31 (2008): 460–83.

39. See Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott, eds., *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266–1713: New Approaches* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2010); and Livio Pestilli, Ingrid D. Rowland, and Sebastian Schütze, eds., "*Napoli è tutto il mondo". Neapolitan Art and Culture from Humanism to the Enlightenment*, International Conference, Rome, June 19–21, 2003 (Pisa: Serra, 2008). See also Veronica Mele and Francesco Senatore, "The Kingdom of Naples: The Durazzo and Aragonese Families (1381–1501)" and "Baronial Courts," both in *Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy: Art, Culture and Politics, 1395–1530*, ed. Marco Folin (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2011), 377–403. On artistic exchanges between the Medici and the Aragonese, see Francesco Cagliotti, "Desiderio da Settignano: Profiles of Heroes and Heroines of the Ancient World," in *Desiderio da Settignano: Sculptor of Renaissance Florence,* ed. Marc Bormand, Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi, and Nicholas Penny (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2007), 87–101; also Bianca de Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo in the Kingdom of Naples: Architecture and Cultural Exchange," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 74 (2015): 152–78.

40. The polychrome *Lamentation* group by the Modenese terracotta sculptor Guido Manzoni presents a striking and surely intentional contrast with the nearby work of the Florentines in the church of Santa Maria di Monteoliveto (Santa Anna dei Lombardi) in Naples.

41. For Nicolas Bock, "Patronage, Standards, and *Transfert Culturel*: Naples between Art History and Social Theory," *Art History* 31 (2008): 591–92, a proper social history of art needs to differentiate "between the economics of production and the establishment of cultural standards," whereby "the importation of foreign artists and works of art is . . . not primarily a sign of cultural weakness but a sign of an intentional cultural enrichment and an essential foundation for freedom of choice, which is one of the criteria defining a centre."

42. Ferdinando Bologna, *Napoli e le rotte mediterranee della pittura da Alfonso il Magnanimo a Ferdinando il Cattolico* (Naples: Società Storia Patria Napoli, 1977).

43. George L. Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch at Naples, 1443–1475* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). The distinctive palace designs of late quattrocento Naples also had an impact on architecture in northern Italian court cities: Palazzo dei Diamanti in Ferrara (1493–1503) is modeled on the Palazzo Sanseverino in Naples (1470).

44. De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," pointing out also how Sangallo's buildings for the Gondi family in Florence recall Neapolitan typologies.

45. Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On The Ancestry of the Modern Artist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 46–53. For Budapest, see *Italy and Hungary: Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance*, Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, June 6–8, 2007, ed. Péter Farbaky and Louis A. Waldman (Milan: Officina Libraria, 2011). On the role of art in the relations between the Medici and the Sforza rulers of Milan, see Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 348–54. On the relatively limited impact of Florentine art in late fifteenth-century Milan, see Janice Shell, "Leonardo and the Lombard Traditionalists," in *The Legacy of Leonardo: Painters in Lombardy, 1490–1530* (Milan: Skira, 1998), 65–93.

46. In three fundamental studies by Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*: *Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); and *Words for Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), most of the instances of poets and humanists responding to artists in the quattrocento have a non-Florentine and courtly provenance or, in the case of Alberti, a courtly orientation. These include Ulisse Aleotti on Pisanello and on Mantegna; Bartolomeo Fazio on Gentile da Fabriano, Donatello, Rogier van der Weyden, and Jan van Eyck; Angelo Decembrio on Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini; Ciriaco of Ancona on Rogier Van der Weyden and Angelo da Siena; and Giovanni Santi on Mantegna and his contemporaries throughout Italy. A rich array of sources from northern Italy is presented in Giovanni Agosti, "Scrittori che parlano di artisti, tra Quattro e Cinquecento in Lombardia," in *Quattro Pezzi Lombardi (per Maria Teresa Binaghi)* (Brescia: Edizioni L'Obliquo, 1998), 39–95.

47. Original text with discussion in Baxandall,

Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy, 25–27.

48. Giuseppe Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti* (Modena: Carlo Vincenzi, 1870), 1–3. In 1502 Antoniazzo Romano was required in a contract to execute works "ad modum ispanje" for the Spanish church of San Giacomo in Rome; see Gisela Noehles, *Antoniazzo Romano: Studien sur Quattrocentomalerei in Rome* (Münster, 1973), 284.

49. De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 157.

50. Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, *Objects of Virtue* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), 235–36, with the observation that "unfortunately, it is almost always impossible to discover what special aspect of an object's appearance or technique signaled its origins." Bologna, *La coscienza storica*, 32, notes that the inventory of goods in the possession of Jean, duke of Berry, makes clear discriminations between objects in "ouvraige de Lombardie," embroideries of "l'ouvraige de Florence," glassware of "l'ouvraige de Venise," and an illuminated Bible "d'ouvraige romain."

51. Original text in Pomponio Gaurico, *De sculptura*, ed. Paolo Cutolo (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999), 224.

52. Marcello Fanti, "Le postille carraccesche alle 'Vite' del Vasari. Il testo originale," *Il Carrobbio* 5 (1979): 148–64, at 161. See also chapter 6 of the present study.

53. For a recent account of the commissions, see Edoardo Villata, "Presenze non lombarde alla Certosa tra la fine del Quattrocento e gli inizi del Cinquecento," in *Ambrogio da Fossano detto il Bergognone. Un pittore per la Certosa*, ed. Gianni Carlo Sciolla, exh. cat. (Milan: Skira, 1998), 233–55. The commission to Lippi was ultimately transferred to Fra Bartolomeo and Mariotto Albertinelli; see Ludovico Borgo, "Fra Bartolommeo, Albertinelli and the Pietà for the Certosa of Pavia," *Burlington Magazine* 108 (September 1966): 463–69.

54. *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*, ed. and trans. J. R. Spencer, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 1:116.

55. Stephen J. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 251–64.

56. For Pietro Summonte's letter to Marcantonio Michiel, see Fausto Nicolini, *L'arte napoletana del rinascimento e la lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel* (Naples: Ricciardi, 1925), 157–76; the translation quoted here is from *Renaissance Art Reconsidered: An Anthology of Primary Sources*, ed. Carol M. Richardson, Kim W. Woods, and Michael W. Franklin (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 194–96. The best discussion of the letter is Bologna, *La coscienza storica*, 74–79.

57. Summonte, letter to Michiel, translated in *Renaissance Art Reconsidered,* ed. Richardson, Woods, and Franklin, 194.

58. Aislinn Loconte, "The North Looks South: Giorgio Vasari and Early Modern Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Naples," *Art History* 31 (2008): 438–59. The article does not address Summonte's despairing view of art in his native city.

59. Quoted in Nicolini, *L'arte napoletana*, 171: "Insumma puzzano del moderno e del mal tempo nel quale tali lavori foro facti . . . non si faceano se non cose piane, cose tedesche, francesche e barbare."

60. On Naples as a "world city," see Bock, "Patronage, Standards, and *Transfert Culturel*."

61. "italia e fatta in forma d'una fronda / Di quercia, lunga e stretta, e da tre parte / La chiude il mar e percuote con 1'onda. / La sua lunghezza è, quanto si diparte / Da Pretoria Augusta infino a Reggio, / Che in venti e mille miglia si comparte. / E se'l mezzo del tutto trovar deggio, / Proprio nei campi di Rieti si prende / Così si scrive, ed io da me lo veggio. / Monte Apennin per lo mezzo la fende, / E più fiumi reali avvien che spanda / [piú real da lui si spanda—variant] da quella parte che Toscana pende." *Dittamondo*, book 3, chap. 11; see Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo e le rime*, ed. Giuseppe Corsi, 2 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1952), 1:214.

62. "Qui son sicuri porti e belle piagge; / qui son le belle lande e gran pianure / piene d'augelli e di bestie selvagge; / qui vigne, ulivi e larghe pasture; / qui nobili cittadi e bei castelli / adorni di palagi e d'alte mure; / volti di donne dilicati e belli, / uomini accorti e tratti a gentilezza, / maestri in arme, in cacce e in uccelli. / L'aere temperata e con chiarezza / soavi e dolci venti vi disserra; / piena d'amor, d'onore e di ricchezza." Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo e le rime*, ed. Corsi, 1:215.

63. Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.16, at p. 41.

64. Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.18, at p. 43.

65. "Tra Dame, e Cavalieri / A gustosi piaceri / Tra feste, e tra conviti, / Tra liete danze di guerrieri arditi."

Federico Zuccari, *Il passaggio per Italia, con la dimora di Parma del Sig. Cavaliere Federico Zuccari. Dove si narrano fra molte altre cose le feste, e trionfi Regii fatti in Mantoa da quella Altezza: per le Nozze del Serenissimo Prencipe Francesco Gonzaga suo Figliuolo con la Serenissima infante Margherita di Savoia. Aggiontovi una copiosa narratione di varie cose trascorse, vedute, e fatte nel suo diporto per Venetia, Turino, et altre parti del Piamonte* (Bologna: Bartolomeo Cocchi, 1608), 14.

66. Flavio Biondo, *Italy Illuminated*, trans. Jeffrey A. White (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 15. "I maintain that Italy has been drained of peoples and cities and towns whose very names are lost to us, and hence, at the same time, a transformation of places and names has taken place; and quite apart from the loss of greatness on the part of the City of Rome."

67. Biondo, *Italy Illuminated*, 11.

68. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (Baltimore: Penguin, 1967), 134.

69. For a recent discussion, see Eugenia Paulicelli, "Mapping the World: The Political Geography of Dress in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books," *Italianist* 28 (2008): 25–53, especially 31–32.

70. Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.15, at p. 35.

71. For Dempsey, *Early Renaissance and Vernacular Culture*, the Renaissance is to be defined in terms of the emergence of a vernacular literary tradition and its correlatives in the visual arts.

72. V. Di Tocco, *Ideali d'indipendenza in Italia durante la preponderanza spagnuola* (Messina: Principato, 1926); Stefania Pastore, "From 'Marranos' to 'Unbelievers': The Spanish Peccadillo in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzig (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 79–93. On the satirical writer Traino Boccalini, noted for his hatred of the Spanish, see Harald Hendrix, *Traiano Boccalini fra erudizione e polemica. Ricerche sulla fortuna e bibliografia critica* (Florence: Olschki, 1995). See also the essays by Catherine Fletcher and Nicholas Davidson in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, ed. Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden (New York: Ashgate, 2015).

73. Michael Cole, "Towards an Art History of Spanish Italy," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 16 (2013): 37–46.

74. Francesco Somaini, "The Collapse of City-States and the Role of Urban Centres in the New Political Geography of Renaissance Italy," in The Italian Renaissance State, ed. Andrea Gamberini and Isabella Lazzarini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 239–60.

75. Gianfranco Folena, "Le lingue della commedia e la commedia delle lingue," in *Il linguaggio del caos* (Turin: Boringhieri, 1991), 119 and following.

76. William J. Kennedy, *The Site of Petrarchism: Early Modern National Sentiment in Italy, France, and England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 117.

77. Ann Moyer, "Distinguishing Florentines, Defining Italians: The Language Question and Cultural Identities in Sixteenth-Century Florence," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3rd ser., 3 (2006): 131–58. Moyer points out that Florentine academicians in the wake of Bembo disagreed fundamentally on the question of standards for Tuscan Italian.

78. Mark Rosen, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy: Painted Cartographic Cycles in Social and Intellectual Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 203. On the role of the historical scenes, see Walter Goffart, "Christian Pessimism on the Walls of the Vatican *Galleria delle carte geografiche*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 788–827.

Chapter 2

1. Art historical approaches grounded in critical geopolitics have so far chiefly concerned histories of modernism and avant-gardes from the 1800s, as well as globalization. See, for instance, Catherine Dossin, *The Rise and Fall of American Art, 1940s–1980s: A Geopolitics of Western Art Worlds* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015). However, the characterization of a "geopolitics of art" in Catherine Dossin and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "The German Century? How a Geopolitical Approach Could Transform the History of Modernism," in *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, ed.Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel (Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2015), 183–201, could apply equally to trans-regional exchanges in a preglobalized Europe, since they take their terms explicitly from Fernand Braudel's *Mediterranean* and from Bourdieu's European-focused *Rules of Art*: "Geopolitics provides a model for studying power relations within the art world . . . The geopolitical

approach, as we define it, follows the three levels of analysis Fernand Braudel distinguished in his *Mediterranean:* the *longue durée* of history and geography, the cycle of socio-economic fluxes and transnational circulations, and the finer scale of events, crisis, and artworks. Within those three levels, the geopolitical method understands as object what Pierre Bourdieu would call the international field of arts: that is to say, the social, transnational space polarized and regulated by values and institutions accepted or contested within the field" (184).

2. The impact is primarily in studies of local or regional focus, such as Vincenzo Gheroldi, ed., *Romanino al tempo dei cantieri in valle Camonica* (Gianico: La Cittadina Edizioni, 2015).

3. Benedetto Croce, *Recenti controversie intorno all'unità della Storia d'Italia*, Proceedings of the British Academy, London, 22 (London: British Academy, 1936). The controversy is usefully surveyed by Gianni Oliva, "Tra geo-storia e documenti: Quasi un'introduzione," in *Centri e perifie: Particolari di geo-storia letteraria* (Venice: Marsilio, 2006), 11–24.

4. Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Centro e periferia," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, ed. Giovanni Previtali, part 1, vol. 1 (Turin: Einaudi, 1979), 287–352; the revised edition is "Domination symbolique et géographie artistique dans l'histoire de l'art italien," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 40 (November 1981): 51–72. The former appeared as "Centre and Periphery," in *History of Italian Art*, trans. Ellen Bianchini and Claire Dorey, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 2:29–113; quotations here drawn from the translation by Maylis Currie, introduction by Dario Gamboni, "Symbolic Domination and Artistic Geography in Italian Art History," *Art in Translation* 1 (2009): 5–48, at 9.

5. The notion comes from Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias" (based on a lecture of 1967), *Architecture, mouvement, continuité* 5 (1984): 46–49, translated by Jay Miskowiec in *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 22–27, at 24. Foucault describes heterotopias as "real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality."

6. As used by Jameson, the term designates the roles of spatial representations, physical or imaginary, in enabling groups and individuals to negotiate complex economic and political transformations. Frederic Jameson,"Cognitive Mapping," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 347–57.

7. Castelnuovo and Ginzburg derived their terms from Edward Shils's 1961 essay "Center and Periphery," in *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 3–17. The terms are also influential among historians of Italy; see, e.g., G. Benzoni, "Tra centro e periferia. Il caso veneziano," in *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi,* ed. G. Benzoni, M. Berengo et al. (Vicenza: Il Cardo, 1992), 97–108. Thomas da Costa Kaufmann observes that a form of the model operated in the work of George Kubler on Spanish colonial art, and of Jan Białostocki on Eastern Europe, in Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 97–100, 223–235. Nicolas Bock, "Patronage, Standards, and Transfert Culturel," provides an important critique of Ginzburg and Castelnuovo, and of Kaufmann, drawing on the work of social scientists Saskia Sassen and Ulf Hannerz on "world cities." See also Bock, "Center or Periphery? Artistic Migration, Models, Taste and Standards," in *"Napoli è tutto il mondo": Neapolitan Art and Culture from Humanism to the Enlightenment*, International Conference, Rome, June 19–21, 2003, ed. Livio Pestilli, Ingrid D. Rowland, and Sebastian Schütze (Pisa: Serra, 2008), 11–36. On the place of the Ginzburg and Castelnuovo article in the development of a "geography of art" in recent decades, see Jean-Marc Besse, "Approches spatiales dans l'histoire des sciences et des arts," *L'espace géographique* (2010–13): 211–24.

8. Castelnuovo and Ginzburg, "Symbolic Domination," 16–21.

9. On Tanzio da Varallo (c. 1575–1633), who worked in Milan and Rome as well as small centers in Lombardy, Piedmont, and the Abruzzi, see Ferdinando Bologna, "Tanzio a Roma, sugli Altopiani Maggiori d'Abruzzo e a Napoli," in *Tanzio da Varallo. Realismo, fervore e contemplazione in un pittore del Seicento* (Milan: Federico Motta, 2000), 33–41. Among studies of

Lotto's "regional" commissions, see the many studies in the volumes edited by Pietro Zampetti and Vittorio Sgarbi: *Lorenzo Lotto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi per il V centenario della nascita, Asolo, 18–21 settembre 1980* (Venice, 1980); *Omaggio a Lorenzo Lotto. Atti del convegno Jesi-Mogliano, 4–6 dicembre 1981, Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 13, no. 1 (1984); and *Lorenzo Lotto e le Marche. Per una geografia dell'anima* (Florence: Giunti, 2009).

10. Or the duchy of Savoy, on which see *Corti e città. Arte del Quattrocento nelle Alpi Occidentali*, ed. Enrica Pagella, Elena Rossetti Brezzi, and Enrico Castelnuovo (Milan: Skira, 2006), especially the contributions of Castelnuovo and Frederic Élsig.

11. Castelnuovo and Ginzburg, "Symbolic Domination," 20.

12. Castelnuovo and Ginzburg admit ("Symbolic Domination," 23) that referring to Avignon, the seat of the papal court in the fourteenth century, as a periphery is "self-evidently absurd," but they go on to speak of the city as "a case of artistic 'double-periphery': Within the decline of Occitan culture, the main references were on the one hand paintings from Central Italy and on the other Gothic drawings from the North."

13. Alain Reynaud, in his *Société, espace et justice. Inégalités régionales et justice socio-spatiale* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1981), wrote that "center and periphery do not correspond to any absolute opposition, in the framework of a dualism or of a simplifying Manichaeism . . . On the contrary, center and periphery must be understood as relative notions, defining one another." Translation quoted from Sophie Cras, "Global Conceptualism? Cartographies of Conceptual Art in Pursuit of Decentering," in *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, ed. Kaufmann, Dossin, and Joyeux-Prunel, 167–82, 168. On the relativism of center/periphery in a globalized art world see Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "The Uses and Abuses of Peripheries in Art History," *Artl@s Bulletin* 3 (2014): Article 1.

14. On the problem of defining a city (*urbs, civitas*) in the Middle Ages, and its persistence into the present, along with a critique of the economic orientation of urban history, see Robert Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism: Parthenay in Romanesque Aquitaine* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), especially 6–12.

15. Fernando Loffredo, "La Fontana Pretoria da Firenze a Palermo *gremio urbis accepta*. Le origini, il trasporto e l'innesto urbano," in *Skulptur und Platz Raumbesetzung–Raumüberwindung–Interaktion*, ed. Alessandro Nova and Stephanie Hanke (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2014), 89.

16. On the theme of *altera Roma*, see William Hammer, "The Concept of the New or Second Rome in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 19 (1944): 50–62; and now Beneš, *Urban Legends*.

17. See the work of the European Research Council–sponsored project based at the University of Naples, "Historical Memory, Antiquarian Culture, Artistic Patronage: Social Identities of the Centres of Southern Italy between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period," which seeks to identify "the methods of self-representation adopted by the elite and by the local communities in the Regno di Napoli between the medieval and early modern period beginning with Campania and then extending to Puglia, Calabria, Lucania, Molise and Abruzzo." See http://www.histantartsi.eu/. For example, Bianca de Divitiis, "Architettura e identità nell'Italia meridionale del Quattrocento. Nola, Capua e Sessa," in *Architettura e identità locali*, ed. Howard Burns and Mauro Mussolin (Florence: Olschki, 2015).

18. George L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485–1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 112.

19. As noted by Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 223. See George Kubler, "Two Modes of Franciscan Architecture: New Mexico and California," in *Studies in Ancient American and European Art: The Collected Essays of George Kubler*, ed. Thomas F. Reese (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 34–38.

20. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias," 24.

21. Vitaliano Tiberia and Adele Cecchini, *Antoniazzo Romano. Per il Cardinale Bessarione a Roma* (Rome: Ediart, 1992); and Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 220–32. Also Meredith J. Gill, "'Where the Danger Was Greatest': A Gallic Legacy in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1996): 498–522. Gill considers the chapel to have been planned in association with one endowed by Cardinal d'Estouteville in Santa Maria Maggiore in which the apparition of the archangel in Rome was depicted, seeing them as together constituting a "uniquely Roman

pilgrimage trajectory . . . encouraging as they did a condensed performance of the route from Mont-St-Michel to Monte Gargano to Rome" (508).

22. Charles Burroughs, "Below the Angel: An Urbanistic Project in the Rome of Pope Nicholas V," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1982): 114–19, at 119.

23. For instance, by the geographer Denis Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).

24. The continuum of such landscape constructions can be extended into the Netherlands. Italian artists would adapt and even exaggerate aspects of Netherlandish landscape backgrounds, as in the ominous heterotopias explored in Alfred Acres, *Renaissance Invention and the Haunted Infancy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). The genealogy of the rocky landscape background from medieval, Byzantine, and ancient painting is explored in the "phylogenetic" analysis of Jacob Wamberg, *Landscape as World Picture: Tracing Cultural Evolution in Images* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009).

25. Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Culture Economy," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 7 (1990): 295–310.

26. On Roman Italy: for example, the landscape of Naples was a site charged with Virgilian associations. The Florentine Matteo Palmieri's philosophical poem *La città di vita* (1465) opens with a visit to the region of Cuma in the company of King Alfonso of Aragon, and a subsequent dream vision of the Cumaean Sibyl who reveals the nature of the cosmos to the poet.

27. Charles W. J. Withers, "Place and the 'Spatial Turn' in Geography and in History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 4 (2009): 637–58, at 641–42.

28. See, for example, Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-world* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); and Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 3–92. The latter is a discussion of how "landscape [painting] comes into its own" during the Industrial Revolution—at the moment when the organic and indigenous landscape was increasingly threatened with destruction. Also Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

29. David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 23.

30. Summers, *Real Spaces*, 53.

31. Summers, *Real Spaces*, 118.

32. Summers, *Real Spaces*, 135.

33. Summers, *Real Spaces*, 195.

34. Summers, *Real Spaces*, 197. The general movement of his book, he continues, is "from the relative isolation of cultures to contact and accommodation in a larger unity. In that sense, world culture has become more urban, even as most of our lives are still shaped by central values. Even though that is so, however, centre and periphery cannot have the same meanings in this larger de facto unity."

35. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 355, on how Raphael's Vatican murals "create an effect of transcending their own local circumstances . . . by adopting a timeless formal norm."

36. Doreen Massey, "Landscape as a Provocation: Reflections on Moving Mountains," *Journal of Material Culture* 11 (2006): 33–48, at 36.

37. Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," *Marxism Today* 38 (1991): 24–29, at 28.

38. Luigi Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia dell'abate Luigi Lanzi antiquario*, vol. 1 (Bassano, 1795–96), 594: "Si è notato già, che dopo i principj del secolo XVI in ogni paese l'arte comparve adulta, e in ogni luogo cominciò ad avere un carattere che distingue Scuola da Scuola. Quella di Napoli non ha avute formi così originali, come alter d'Italia: ma ha dato luogo ad ogni buona maniera; secondochè i giovani usciti di patria vi han riportato lo stile di questo o quell maestro; o secondochè i Sovrani e i Grandi del Regno hanno invitati, o almeno impiegati i migliori esteri."

39. On relational geography, see Marcus Doel, *Poststructuralist Geographies: The Diabolical Art of Spatial Science* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999); Jonathan Murdoch, *Post-Structuralist Geography: A Guide to Relational Space* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006); and Martin Jones, "Phase Space: Geography, Relational Thinking, and Beyond," *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (2009): 487–506.

40. See the conference and publication activities

of the Artl@s initiative: http://www.artlas.ens.fr/; also the volume *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, ed. Kaufmann, Dossin, and Joyeux-Prunel, notably the contribution by James Elkins, 203–31.

41. On Martinengo Colleoni, see P. Guerrini, *I conti di Martinengo* (Brescia, 1930), 360–62; also David Oldfield, "Lorenzo Lotto, 1508–1513," in *Omaggio a Lorenzo Lotto*, 22–38.

42. Francesca Cortesi Bosco, "Riflessi del mito di Venezia nella pala Martinengo di Lorenzo Lotto," *Rivista di Bergamo* 110, no. 4 (1982): 5–12; followed by Peter Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 45.

43. The documents do not refer to Lotto's Venetian origins, calling him only "the very famous painter." Oldfield, "Lorenzo Lotto," 29, observes that Martinengo Colleoni goes "beyond the normal Milan-Bergamo-Venice axis to find a painter for his altarpiece which underlines the importance he gave to the project." The patron was not notably philo-Venetian in his other commissions: the intarsia designs for the chapel housing the altarpiece were solicited from the Milanese artists Bernardino Zenale and Bramantino.

44. Henry Kaap, who presented his work in progress at the Renaissance Society of America conference in Berlin on March 27, 2015, notes analogies between elements of Lotto's composition—for instance, the architectural perspective and the two floating angels above the throne—and a *sacra conversazione* by Lotto's fellow Venetian expatriate Antonio Solario, "lo Zingaro," painted for the Marchigian town of Osimo in 1505, shortly before Lotto arrived there. Solario's altarpiece, also commissioned by a local feudal warlord, incorporates the donor in prayer before the throne, an element suggestively omitted by Lotto.

45. An aspect explored, albeit mainly in a pre-Renaissance and trans-Mediterranean context, by Michele Bacci, e.g., in Bacci, *Pro remedio animae. Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (secoli XIIIXIV)* (Pisa: Gisem-Ets, 2000); and Bacci, "Immagini sacre e pietà 'topografica' presso i Minori," in *Le immagini del francescanesimo. Atti del XXXVI Convegno internazionale* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2009), 31–57.

46. *Opere di Franco Sacchetti 1. I sermoni evangelici, le lettere ed altri scritti inediti o rari*, ed. Ottavio Gigli (Florence: Le Monnier, 1857), 218–19; Leonardo da Vinci, *Libro di pittura. Codex Urbinate Lat. 1270 nella Biblioteca vaticana*, ed. Carlo Pedretti (Florence: Giunti, 1995), 1:135; and Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, book 7. See Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 243.

47. However, as we will see in chapter 5, a wave of host miracles and bleeding crucifix cults in the late fifteenth century could be seen as attempts to particularize and localize the Eucharist, allowing it to generate unique forms of *tenemos*, or sacred space. Megan Holmes, "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence," *Art History* 34 (2011): 432–65, at 458, describes these as "a highly performative and spectacular domain of devotional culture where Christ and the Virgin were experienced as if present in the church or sanctuary environment."

48. For the document, see Oldfield, "Lorenzo Lotto," 29.

49. Carlo Bertelli, "Ricordo di viaggio nella pala Martinengo," in *Lorenzo Lotto*, ed. Zampetti and Sgarbi, 187–93, at 191.

50. On this rapport, see Bonita Cleri, "Bramante e Lotto, probabili incontri," in *Lorenzo Lotto e le Marche*, ed. Zampetti and Sgarbi, 254–66. Oldfield, "Lorenzo Lotto," 22–23, also posits contact between Lotto and Bramante in the Marches in 1508, suggesting that Bramante may have recruited Lotto to work in the Vatican Stanze.

51. Lotto, as will be seen in chapter 4, had earlier recapitulated the Virgin's gesture in the altarpiece for Recanati completed in 1508.

52. For the notarial record (referred to incorrectly as a contract), see Oldfield, "Lorenzo Lotto," 29.

53. On the Giovinazzo altarpiece and its surviving panel, identified by Mario Salmi in 1985, see *Tiziano, Bordon e gli Acquaviva d'Aragona: Pittori veneziani in Puglia e fuoriusciti napoletani in Francia*, ed. N. Barbone Pugliese, Andrea Donati, and Lionello Puppi (Foggia: Claudio Grenzi Editore, 2012), 188–91, 258–63. For references in the painter's account book, see Lotto, *Libro di spese diverse*, edited with commentary by Francesco de Carolis (Trieste: EUT, 2017), 114 (2v), 291 (198r), 310. On the paintings for Sicily, see Lotto, *Libro di spese diverse,* 204–5 (70v–71r); and Louisa Matthew, *Lorenzo Lotto and the Patronage and Produc-*

tion of Venetian Altarpieces in the Early Sixteenth Century (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1988), 251n42.

54. On spatial practice, see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), especially 106, on "clearings" that allow "free play": "It is a crack in the system that saturates places with signification and indeed so reduces them to this signification that it is impossible to breathe in them." Also Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 38–46.

55. Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 38–39.

56. Gaetano Panazza, "Gerolamo Savoldo. Quesiti risolti e problemi insoluti," in *Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo. Tra Foppa, Giorgione e Caravaggio*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1990), 32.

57. Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 94, envisions Lotto as responding to Savoldo's rendering of drapery as well as his night scenes, although he also speculates on a more bilateral exchange between the two artists. Savoldo's 1535 *Annunciation* (now in Pordenone, but made for a Dominican church in Castello, Venice) seems to pursue a deliberate course between Titian's version of the same subject in Treviso (c. 1520) and Lotto's for Recanati (c. 1534), both of which show the angel approaching the Virgin from behind. Savoldo introduces reminiscences of both but departs from the bustling energy and theatrical setting of Titian and the Virgin's disquiet in Lotto (whose angel he nonetheless carefully studied).

58. Roberto Longhi, *Piero della Francesca*, trans. David Tabbat (Riverdale-on-Hudson, NY: Stanley Moss, 2002), 39–40: "One wonders whether Piero's mysterious compendium of the basic elements of the loftiest artistic flights known to the memory of Man does not, perhaps, represent the precise point at which Italians ought to locate their own truest form of classicism." Further, on 186: "setting out to measure himself against the Flemings, he created a preamble to Vermeer." Even scholars engaged with the geography of Renaissance art, Thomas Kaufmann and Ferdinando Bologna, display a surprising reliance on style categories created by twentieth-century formalists like Heinrich Wölfflin and Roberto Longhi. Ferdinando Bologna, *La coscienza storica,* lays out relativistic historical criteria by which regional styles were recognized before Vasari. In his discussion of Bartolomeo Facio's ranking of the best artists (Gentile, Pisanello, Van Eyck, Rogier, Donatello, Ghiberti), however, Bologna falls back on the intactness of modern stylistic categories. For instance, the humanist's omission of Florentine painters is seen to be disturbing; it is ultimately justified in terms of a vogue for "international Gothic," even as Bologna realizes that this makes the naming of Ghiberti and Donatello inexplicable ("poco giustificabile," at 57). Bologna rationalizes Foppa's presence on Filarete's list (discussed in chapter 1) with a strange Longhian hindsight through Foppa's alleged status as the "undisputed founder of a lineage of 'Lombard' painting that would reach as far as Caravaggio" (57). In his discussion of the diffusion of the Italian Renaissance outside Italy, Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, despite acknowledging regional variation within Italy, tends to conflate "Italian Renaissance art" with a Wölfflinian classical norm (199); hence, a series of ornamented façades at L'viv in Ukraine, Salamanca in Spain, and Tepoztlàn in Mexico all "suggest similar deviations from the classical norm."

59. Marian H. Feldman, *Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 14.

60. Feldman, *Communities of Style,* 14.

61. Vasari's recourse to "natural" determinants like climate seems to be metaphoric and adduced as if with a shrug in the absence of other explanations, usually including qualifiers like "whether." For some artists, the *aria* (air) of Rome is beneficial, while for others—most notably Rosso—it has noxious effects. Domenico Beccafumi is one artist so bonded to his birthplace that, according to Vasari, he was "unable to do anything when he was away from the air of Siena." When in his Life of Rosso Vasari writes that "he who changes his country or place of habitation seems to change his nature, talents, character, and personal habits, insomuch as sometimes he seems not to be the same man but another, all dazed and stupefied," he is commenting on psychology, not on climate. Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 1:903. For a discussion of Vasari's idea that the air of Rome in particular was difficult or intolerable, and associated notions of influence, contamination, and *mal'aria*—which are largely a post-Renaissance development—see Richard Wrigley, *Roman Fever: Influence, Infection and the Image of*

Rome, 1700–1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 61–93; and Kim, *Travelling Artist*, 43–46. In one telling passage from his 1550 Life of Niccolo d'Arezzo, Vasari adduces celestial influence to convey the inexplicability of artistic mobility: "Se già non volessimo noi dire che questi tali non dalla natura, ma da quello influsso celeste che gli vuol conducere al sommo, sono cavati de gli infelici paesi loro e condotti ancora in que' luoghi dove e' possino comodamente farsi immortali. Il che volendo condurre il cielo, adopera sí diverse vie che e' non si può assegnarne regola, inducendo alcuni, per via di amicizie o di parentadi, altri per esilii o per villanie fatteli da' suoi medesimi, altri per la povertà e per infinite cagioni strane, ad assentarsi da la patria." In its relinquishing of the possibility of *regole* (rules), Vasari's view differs from the highly prescriptive accounts of celestial influence in Marsilio Ficino's earlier *De vita* or in the later medical works of Girolamo Cardano; none of the passage is retained in the 1568 version of the Life. For a different verdict, see Kim, *Travelling Artist*, 87.

62. *La vita di Benvenuto di Maestro Giovanni Cellini fiorentino*, book 2, chap. 97. "Allora io dissi:—Signor mio, Vostra Eccellenzia illustrissima m'ha dato facultà, che io ho fatto innella maggiore Scuola del mondo una grande e difficilissima opera, la quale m'è stata lodata piú che opera che mai si sia scoperta in questa divinissima Scuola." http://bepi1949.altervista.org/cellini/vita2d.html, accessed July 13, 2018.

63. Paula Findlen, "Uffizi Gallery, Florence: The Rebirth of a Museum in the Eighteenth Century," in *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th and Early 19th Century Europe*, ed. Carole Paul (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012), 73–113.

64. See the useful discussion in Ricardo de Mambro Santos, *Timeless Renaissance: Italian Drawings from the Alessandro Maggiori Collection* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), especially 47–55. On Lanzi's *Storia pittorica*, see also Massimiliano Rossi, *Le fila del tempo. Il sistema storico di Luigi Lanzi* (Florence: Olschki, 2006); and Bologna, *La coscienza storica*.

65. Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1864), enlarged Italian ed., *Storia della pittura in Italia dal secolo II al secolo XVI*, 11 vols. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1885–1908).

66. Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 19 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923–38).

67. Austen Henry Layard, *The Italian Schools of Painting, Based on the Handbook of Kugler*, 6th ed., "thoroughly revised and in part rewritten, by Austen Henry Layard" (London: John Murray, 1902), xix–xx. Layard also wrote the preface for the English edition of Morelli's writings, *The Italian Painters: Critical Studies of Their Works* (London: Murray, 1900), in which Morelli writes (18): "we must go to the works of art themselves, and, what is more, to the country itself, tread the same soil and breathe the same air, where they were produced and developed."

68. Federico Zeri, *La percezione visiva dell'Italia e degli italiani nella storia della pittura* (Turin: Einaudi, 1976), 9–10.

69. Maria Calì, "Patroni, committenti, amici del Pordenone fra religione e storia," in *Il Pordenone. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Pordenone, 23–25 agosto 1984*, ed. C. Furlan (Pordenone: Biblioteca dell'immagine, 1985), 93–101, at 97: "come il ricordo delle asprezze montanare e delle fantasie accese e visionarie di un mondo di provinciale." Mauro Zanchi and Simonetta Cavalleri, *Giovanni Cariani. Il giorgionesco dal realismo terragno* (Bergamo: Ferrari Grafiche, 2001), 3: "L'anima valligiana di Cariani, che ama la libertà spontanea e naturale del colore non più inteso come mezzo necessario per riempire superfici delineate fra le figure ma come comprimario del soggetto rappresentato, aiuta il pittore a trasfondere i suoi pigmenti terrosi e sanguigni in una dimensione spaziale nuova affine al verso libero della canzone cinquecentesca."

70. Roberto Longhi, "Caravaggio and His Forerunners," in *Roberto Longhi: Three Studies*, trans. David Tabbat and David Jacobson (Riverdale-on-Hudson, NY: Stanley Moss, 1995), 146.

71. Longhi, "Cose bresciane del Cinquecento" (1917), in *Scritti giovanili* (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), 327–45, at 339.

72. Longhi, "Caravaggio and His Forerunners," 146.

73. Longhi, *Piero della Francesca*, 74.

74. Longhi, *Piero della Francesca*, 74.

75. Abundantly demonstrated in Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 85–88.

76. For instance, Giulio Carlo Argan, *Classico anticlassico. Il Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Bruegel* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1984); and Federico Zeri, "Renaissance and Pseudo-Renaissance," in *History of Italian Art,* ed. Claire Dorey, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 2:326–72.

77. Eugenio Battisti, *L'Antirinascimento*, 2nd ed. (1962; Milan: Garzanti, 1989) provided a manifesto of the "anticlassical" Renaissance, noteworthy for its antiformalism and its taking into account of popular art. His critique was one of several from the mid-twentieth century to address a crisis in periodization, where styles were being extended across chronological boundaries so that Titian could be categorized as "baroque" and Diego Velázquez (as well as Franz Kafka and Arthur Rimbaud) as a "mannerist." For Battisti (40), Mannerism was the manifestation of an atavistic and antirational tendency long apparent in premodern European culture (not just that of Italy), even engulfing the quattrocento—the brief epoch of Renaissance "rationalism" in the personalities and practice of Brunelleschi, Masaccio, Donatello, and Alberti. While Battisti proposed "una mappa dell'antirinascimento figurativo," his geographic scope was defined (50–51), ultimately rather narrowly, by Florence and Venice, and by occasional analogies with northern Europe. The rest of Italy makes only sporadic appearances. The Dossi of Ferrara, as painters of Bosch-like *capricci* and of witches, are brought on only to provide a kind of dark mirror of that which comes into fruition solely in Florence. Lotto, finally, makes a brief and caricatured appearance (86), as "il pio pittore . . . addirittura fratesco nella sua superstizione."

78. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*, 176.

79. The connection of Barocci to Correggio was noted by early commentators like Bellori. On Barocci and Florentine art, see Jeffrey Fontana, "Evidence for an Early Florentine Trip by Federico Barocci," *Burlington Magazine* 89 (1997): 471–75.

80. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*, 437.

81. The elaborate ecclesiastical setting of the *Madonna del popolo* for the Pieve of Arezzo is conceived to respond to the Vasarian church itself and can even be read as a mirror image of the church opening on the other side of the altar, in which kneeling devotés reflect the presence and comportment of the beholder in real space. The altarpiece of the Martyrdom of St. Vitalis (1583) for San Vitale in Ravenna was situated in front of the well into which the titular saint is being thrown to his death and around which the Byzantine structure had been built. Barocci, in other words, has depicted the very site in which the beholder encounters his work, at the very moment when that site is sacralized through martyrdom. Moreover, the stone surround for the painting was partly constructed of reflective material. See Peter Gillgren, *Siting Federico Barocci and the Renaissance Aesthetic* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 113. Questions of space and setting are also addressed in Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 177–87.

82. To paraphrase the opening of the essay by David Rosand, "Titian and the Eloquence of the Brush," *Artibus et historiae* 2 (1981): 85–96.

83. For a discussion of the paintings as complex responses to Venetian, Lombard, and German (i.e., Dürer's) art, see the entries by Francesco Frangi in *Romanino. Un pittore in rivolta nel Rinascimento Italiano* (Milan: Silvana, 2006), 88–92.

Chapter 3

1. Ernesto Travi, ed., *Pietro Bembo. Lettere* (Bologna: Commissione per I testi di lingua, 1987), 1:4–5. On perceptions of Calabria in the Renaissance, see Michele Orlando, "L'identità regionale della Calabria nella cultura dell'Umanesimo italiano ed europeo," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 72 (2005): 31–81.

2. Angeliki E. Laiou, "Italy and the Italians in the Political Geography of the Byzantines (14th Century)," *Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th–15th Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 73–98.

3. Salvatore Bottari, *Messina tra umanesimo e Rinascimento. Il "caso" Antonello, la cultura, le élites politiche, le attività produttive* (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 2010), 53.

4. On Maurolico, see the entry by R. Moscheo, "Maurolico, Francesco," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–), vol. 72 (2008).

5. The quotations that follow are from Pietro Bembo, *Lyric Poetry: Etna*, trans. Mary Chatfield and Betty Radice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 194–250.

6. Bembo, *Lyric Poetry: Etna*, 243.

7. Bembo, *Lyric Poetry: Etna*, 247.

8. Bembo, *Lyric Poetry: Etna*, 247.

9. Émile Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1904); Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*.

10. Bottari, *Messina*, 85–149.

11. For an astute critique of the ongoing need to claim Antonello for modernity, see Gervase Rosser, "Antonello da Messina, the Devotional Image, and Artistic Change in the Renaissance," in *Around Antonello da Messina: Reintegrating Quattrocento Culture*, ed. Michael W. Kwakkelstein and Bette Talvacchia (Florence: Centro Di, 2014), 102–25.

12. See the section "Court Centers as World Cities" in chapter 1 of this study.

13. The provincialism of Messinese artistic culture in Antonello's lifetime is maintained, for instance, by Mauro Lucco, "Le occasioni di Antonello," in *Antonello da Messina. L'opera completa*, ed. Mauro Lucco (Milan: Silvana, 2006), 21. By contrast, Bottari, *Messina*, 17–22, argues that social and economic conditions in Messina would have been favorable to an art market based on imports and local production. See also the essays in *Antonello a Messina*, ed. Giovanni Molonia (Messina: Di Nicolò, 2006); and Teresa Pugliatti, *Antonello da Messina. Rigore e emozione* (Palermo: Kalòs, 2008), 19–20. For the proposal of a visit by Antonello to Urbino, see Ferdinando Bologna and Federico de Melis, *Antonello da Messina* (Milan: Electa, 2013), 57–61.

14. Roberto Longhi, "Piero dei Franceschi e lo sviluppo della pittura veneziana (1914)," in *Scritti giovanili* (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), 61–107, at 78: "Se si volesse poi riferire lo sviluppo di Antonello all'ambiente artistico napoletano o siciliano, si cadrebbe in un errore assai più grave che se si credesse possibile la nascita di un cinese del Trecento con gl'intenti plastici di un Masaccio, poiché se una tradizione comunque artistica qual'era la lineare, poteva dotare 1'artista di una comprensione generale dei problemi pittorici, la tradizione artistica meridionale non poteva dotare Antonello di nulla fuorché di una raffinata manovalita, poiché essa era per il resto affatto sprovvista di ogni idea anche elementare di stile."

15. Leonardo Sciascia, *Antonello da Messina: L'ordine delle somiglianze* (Milan: Rizzoli Classici dell'Arte, 1967), in Sciascia, *Scritti d'arte* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2000), 93. Enrico Pispisa, "Il messinese Antonello," in *Antonello a Messina*, ed. Giovanni Molonia (Messina: Di Nicolò, 2006), 41: "Antonello si mostra . . . legatissimo alia sua città e per vari motivi: a Messina apprese i primi rudimenti della tecnica che avrebbe poi raffinato nella bottega di Colantonio; a Messina aveva i suoi interessi, i suoi affetti e la 'roba', così importante per 1'animo di un siciliano; ma, cosa più rilevante, a Messina ed alla Sicilia lo univa un intensissimo rapporto spirituale, da cui scaturiva la sua visione dell'uomo e del mondo, che Antonello doveva verificare continuamente abitando in riva allo Stretto, rinnovare ossessivamente girando per le chiassose strade della citta, rievocare riproducendo senza posa le fattezze del suoi conterranei ed i contorni del paesaggio che lo avviluppava." To this essay, originally published in 1980, the author added a 2006 *postilla*, in which he writes (45) of the Antonello portrait in Cefalù that "il committente, come risulta dai tratti somatici, è un siciliano." He qualifies this, however: "Tra gli altri ritratti superstiti non è escluso che qualcuno possa venire dalla città dello Stretto, giacché mi pare un po' 'razzista' il vezzo della critica di identificare con siciliani solo color che rivelano uno sguardo ribaldo e un po'mafioso."

16. On trading networks and Aragonese expansion, see, for example, Mario del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV* (Naples: Giannini, 1972); Henri Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen. Économie et société en Sicile, 1300–1450,* 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1986); Céline Dauverd, "Genoese and Catalans: Trade Diaspora in Early Modern Sicily," *Mediterranean Studies* 10 (2006): 42–61; and Fabrizio Titone, *Governments of the Universitates: Urban Communities of Sicily in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). On the cultural and artistic manifestation of this interregional contact, see Bologna, *Napoli e le rotte mediterranee della pittura*; and the catalogues *El renacimiento mediterráneo: Viajes de artistas e itinerarios de obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el siglo XV,* ed. Mauro Natale (Madrid: Thyssen Foundation, 2001); and *Le siècle de Van Eyck, 1430–1530: Le monde méditerranéen et les primitifs Flamands,* ed. Till-Holger Borchert (Amsterdam: Ludion, 2002).

17. The similarities between Antonello's *Annunciation* now in Syracuse and Barthelemy d'Eyck's *Annunciation* in the church of La Madeleine, Aix-en-

Provence, were noted already by Lionello Venturi in 1908 ("Studi Antonelliani," *L'arte* 9 [1908]: 443–50) and have been reaffirmed in more recent scholarship. See Dominique Thiébaut, "Antonello, Barthélemy d'Eyck, Enguerrand Quarton e altri. Contatti, influenze reciproche o coincidenze artistiche," in *Antonello da Messina. L'opera completa*, ed. Mauro Lucco and Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa (Milan: Silvana, 2007), 43–63.

18. Luke Syson disputes several of the attributions and deattributions in *Antonello da Messina*, ed. Mauro Lucco, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2006); the exhibition took place in Rome. See his review, *Burlington Magazine* 148 (2006): 541–44.

19. See Maria Grazia Paolini, "Pittori genovesi in Sicilia: Rapporti tra le culture pittoriche ligure e siciliana," in *Genova e i genovesi a Palermo* (Genoa: SAGEP, 1980), 51, on a Pietro Saliba altarpiece for the Consorzia dei Forestieri in the Servite church in Genoa, probably supplied through the broker Leonoro dall'Aquila in 1506. Paolini points out that two of Antonello's works have a Genoese provenance—the portrait (*Man in a Red Hat*) in the National Gallery, London, came from the Molfino collection, and the *Ecce Homo* is still at Palazzo Spinola. Lucco in *Antonello da Messina. L'opera completa*, 22, refers to the *Crucifixion* at Bovolenta near Padua, attributed to Pietro di Saliba or Jacobello di Antonello. Lucco speculates that the latter, the son of Antonello, might be the painter referred to by Michiel in his ascription of the London *St. Jerome* to a "Jacometto Veneziano."

20. Salvatore Settis, "Giorgione in Sicily: On the Dating and Composition of the Castelfranco Altarpiece," in *Giorgione: Myth and Enigma*, ed. Sylvia Ferino Pagden and Giovanna Nepi Scirè (Milan: Skira, 2004), 133–63, has demonstrated that the patron of Giorgione's great altarpiece in Castelfranco—a work squarely in the lineage of Antonello's Pala di San Casciano for Venice—was a Messinese nobleman, Tuccio Costanzo, and that the warrior saint depicted is not St. George but St. Nicasius, venerated in Palermo and throughout Sicily.

21. Cajo D. Gallo, *Annali della citta di Messina, capitale del Regno di Sicilia* (Messina: Gaipa, 1756), 2:403: "A 16 Luglio di quest'anno con solenne processione si portó il quadro del Santissimo Rosario nella Chiesa di S. Benedetto dei PP Domenicani fuori le mura ove sí era instituita nel 1455 in Messina la prima Arciconfraternità di quefto titolo che oggi fiorisce sotto quello dei SS. Simone e Giuda nel Regio Convento di S. Girolamo nella di cui Chiesa il medesimo quadro si vede col antica iscrizione."

22. Daniele de Joannon, "Per la *Madonna del Rosario* del Museo Regionale di Messina. Una datazione e un'attribuzione ad Antonio Solario detto 'Lo Zingaro,'" in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Teresa Pugliatti*, ed. Gaetano Bongiovanni (Rome: De Luca editori d'arte, 2007), 26–31.

23. A recent overview of the history and culture of Palermo, Jeremy Dummett's *Palermo, City of Kings* (London: Tauris, 2015), turns in consecutive chapters from "The Norman Era" (160–77) to "Baroque Palermo" (178–97), with scarcely a mention of the city's Renaissance architecture, painting, or sculpture.

24. Francesca Campagna Cicala, entry in *Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia e la cultura figurativa in Sicilia nell'età di Carlo V*, ed. Teresa Viscuso (Palermo: Ediprint, 1999), 264–66.

25. For a survey of Alibrandi's career, see Cicala, entry in *Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia e la cultura figurativa in Sicilia,* as well as Teresa Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia. La Sicilia orientale* (Naples: Electa, 1993), 74–86; also Alessandra Migliorato, "Migrations of Artists and Cultural Influences in Renaissance Sicily: The Example of Messina between the Second and Third Decades of the Sixteenth Century," in *UNLIMIT: Rethinking the Boundaries between Philosophy, Aesthetics and Arts*, ed. Greg Bird, Daniela Calabrò, Dario Giugliano (Milan: Mimesis International, 2017), 193–215.

26. Michael Bury, "Perugino, Raphael and the Decoration of the Stanza dell'Incendio," in *Rethinking the High Renaissance: The Culture of the Visual Arts in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome*, ed. Jill Burke (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 223–45, at 236.

27. *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari,* ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (1906; reprint, Florence: Sansoni, 1981) (hereafter Vasari/Milanesi), 6:385.

28. As noted by Giovanni Previtali, "Il Vasari e l'Italia meridionale," in *Vasari storiografo e artista: Atti del Congresso, Firenze 1974* (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1976), 691–99.

29. See Previtali, "Il Vasari e l'Italia meridionale"; Loconte, "The North Looks South"; and Thomas Wil-

lette, "Giotto's Allegorical Painting of the Kingdom of Naples," in *Gifts in Return: Essays in Honour of Charles Dempsey*, ed. Melinda Schlitt (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012), 69–92.

30. "[E]ssendi quei gentiluomini poco curiosi delle cose eccellenti di pittura." Vasari/Milanesi, 6:150.

31. Willette, "Giotto's Allegorical Painting," 81. On Italian prejudice toward Spanish taste, including Sebastiano del Piombo's famous remark to Nino Sernini that the Spanish commissioned emotive religious art "in order to appear good and devout Christians," see Piers Baker-Bates, "*Graecia capta ferum victorem coepit*: Spanish Patrons and Italian Artists," in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, ed. Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden (New York: Ashgate, 2015), 127–51.

32. Bologna, *Napoli e le rotte mediterranee della pittura*.

33. Agosti, "Scrittori che parlano di artisti, 39–95.

34. Vasari/Milanesi, 6:184.

35. Vasari/Milanesi, 4:592 (Life of Baldassare Peruzzi, where the artist appears as Cesare da Milano); 5:101–2 (Life of Alfonso Lombardi, on the collaboration of Cesare da Sesto with Bernazzano); 6:518 (Life of Benvenuto Garofalo and Girolamo da Carpi, with Cesare da Sesto mentioned alongside Marco d'Oggiono and other Leonardo followers).

36. Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 1:891; original text, Vasari/Milanesi, 5:144.

37. *De veri precetti della pittura di Gio. Battista Armenini* (Ravenna: Tebaldini, 1587), book 1, chap. 7, p. 58: "Che le loro pitture per le diverse richezze, che vi sono e copia di abiti, sono dai pittori talmente desiderate, e così ad essi necessarie, che ognuno vi corre a torsi le copie, perchè elle non sono me belle e facili nelle figure, che nelle grottesche, ne'casamenti, negli animali e ne'paesi; di modo che una tale maniera si può dire con ragione ch'ella sia un'Instituta dell'Arte."

38. "Roma ridendo s'abbelliva delle fatiche loro." Vasari/Milanesi, 5:150.

39. Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 1:897; original text, Vasari/Milanesi, 5:151.

40. Antonio Pinelli, *La bella maniera. Artisti del Cinquecento tra regola e licenza* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003), 171.

41. For an account of modern scholarship's "expressionist" reading of the *Way to Calvary*, see Morten Steen Hansen, "After the Veronica: Crisis and the Ars Sacra of Polidoro da Caravaggio and Pontormo," *I Tatti Studies* 17 (Fall 2014): 325–67.

42. See, for example, Giovanni Previtali's introductory essay to his *Andrea da Salerno nel Rinascimento meridionale* (Florence: Centro Di, 1986), 9–25.

43. Previtali, *Andrea da Salerno nel Rinascimento meridionale,* 11.

44. David Frapiccini, *L'età aurea di Giulio II. Arti, cantieri e maestranze prima di Raffaello* (Rome: Gangemi, 2014), 63–70.

45. Frapiccini, *L'età aurea di Giulio II*, 64, with bibliography.

46. Roberto Longhi, "Comprimari spagnoli della maniera italiana," *Paragone* 43 (1953): 3–15, at 12. On Machuca and other Spaniards in Italy, see *Norma e capriccio: Spagnoli in Italia agli esordi della "maniera moderna,"* exh. cat. (Florence: Giunti, 2013), especially the contributions by Anna Bisceglia and Lizzie Boubli. Boubli (148) writes of the Italian fortunes of Machuca's drawing, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, for his *Deposition* (now Museo del Prado, Madrid, probably made for Palermo): "an emblematic sheet in its testimony of the interactions between Roman, Bolognese, and Neapolitan pictorial culture."

47. See, for instance, Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*, 261, where he characterized Cesare's style as a "consequence of a most developed kind of interaction between a Leonardesque past and contemporary Raphaelism," although with the important observation: "This style is not now specifically Milanese but a more general phenomenon, which Cesare has conveyed throughout the length of the peninsula."

48. Marco Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto* (Milan: Jandi Sapi, 1994), 39–44, identifies his hand in a fresco cycle at San Donato in Sesto Calende on Lago Maggiore.

49. Vasari (see Vasari/Milanesi, 4:592) referred to Cesare's collaboration with Peruzzi on a cycle of *all'antica* subjects modeled after ancient reliefs, which were rediscovered some years ago in the bishop's palace at Ostia, although there is no conspicuous evidence of Cesare's presence in these murals. His hand has been identified in the mythological frescoes of the so-called Uccelliera in the Vatican, again working under Peruzzi and Jacopo Ripanda; see Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto*, 65–78, 142–47.

50. Reproduced in Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto*, 242–86.

51. "Il nostro Cesare Sesto . . . era molto caro e tenuto in gran pregio da Raffaello d'Urbino, con cui si racconta anco che era solito spesse volte mottegiando dire gran cosa gli pare anche essendo loro così stretti amici, come erano, nell'arte della pittura però non si avessino pur un minimo rispetto; parole veramente da virtuosi, poiché dolcemente gareggiavano insieme con quella dolce emulazione, che si trovasse ancora ai tempi nostril ne sarebbe beato il mondo." Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura*, in *Scritti sulle arti,* ed. Roberto P. Ciardi, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro Di, 1974), 2:97.

52. Peruzzi's activity as a painter has not been studied since Christoph L. Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, Beiheft zur Römischen Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 11 (Vienna: Schroll, 1967–68); see also *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1990), with contributions by Fiorella Sricchia Santoro, 222–27, and Giovanni Agosti and Vincenzo Farinella, 583–90. On Polidoro and Peruzzi, see Kristina Herrmann-Fiore, "La retorica romana delle facciate dipinte da Polidoro," in *Raffaello e l'Europa*, ed. Maria Luisa Madona and Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1990), 267–95.

53. On which most recently, see Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance,* 335–36, with further bibliography.

54. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600,* 65–67; and Achim Gnann, "Peruzzi oder Raphael? Zu den Entwürfen für die Fresken der Volta Dorata in der Cancelleria," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi, 1481–1536,* ed. Christoph L. Frommel et al. (Venice: Marsilio, 2005), 199–213.

55. See Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto,* 154–58. The fresco was formerly attributed to Leonardo. Following Longhi's intuition of the hand of a southern painter (in "Frammento siciliano," *Paragone* 7 [November 1953]: 3–44), both Ferdinando Bologna (*Opere d'arte nel salernitano dal XII al XVIII* [Naples: Gallerie della Compania, 1955], 282) and Giovanni Previtali (*La pittura del Cinquecento a Napoli e nel vicereame* [Turin: Einaudi, 1978], 11–14) proposed an alternative attribution to the Salernitan Andrea Sabatini. The older attribution to Boltraffio was being upheld as late as 1987 in M. Chirico de Biasi, "Boltraffio, Giovan Antonio," in *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento,* ed. Federico Zeri (Milan: Electa Mondadori, 1987), 2:587.

56. For the documents, see Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto*, 316. For analysis of the Cava dei Tireni polyptych, see Previtali, *Andrea da Salerno nel Rinascimento meridionale*, 122–23; Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto*, 164–69; and *Leonardo e Cesare da Sesto nel Rinascimento meridionale*, ed. Nicola Barbatelli (Poggio a Caiano: CB Edizioni, 2013).

57. On Alibrandi and Cesare, see Valter Pinto, "Un milanese in Sicilia. A proposito degli incontri fra il lombardo Cesare da Sesto e il messinese Girolamo Alibrandi," in *Studia humanitatis. Saggi in onore di Roberto Osculati*, ed. Arianna Rotondo (Rome: Viella, 2011), 297–309.

58. Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto*, 161.

59. See Bury, "Perugino, Raphael, and the Decoration of the Stanza dell'Incendio."

60. What little we know of the chronology of Andrea Sabatini might not support a narrative of Raphaelization. The San Valentino Torio polyptych is documented to 1511; it seems to show a "modernizing" impulse not followed up a year later in his altarpiece for Buccino near Salerno. This probably indicates that the Raphaelizing impulse identified by Previtali in the San Valentino Torio altarpiece was misidentified in the first place. Previtali, *Andrea da Salerno nel Rinascimento meridionale*, 114–20.

61. Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto,* 79–86; also the entry by Vita Segreto in *Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia e la cultura figurativa in Sicilia nell'età di Carlo V,* ed. Teresa Viscuso, exh. cat. (Palermo, 1999), 249–50. See also Stefano Bottari, "Seguaci di Leonardo in Sicilia. Cesare da Sesto e la sua cerchia," *Raccolta vinciana* 17 (1954): 217–49; and Bottari, *La cultura figurativa in Sicilia* (Messina: Casa editrice G. D'Anna, 1954), 241–54.

62. Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Museo e Gallerie nazionali di Capodimonte. Dipinti dal XIII al XVI secolo. Le collezioni borboniche e post-unitarie* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1999), 150–51; and Viscuso, *Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia*, 298–301, 327–29.

63. On the Giampetrino Pavia altarpiece, see the entry by Susanna Zatti in *Leonardeschi. Da Foppa a Giampetrino. Dipinti dall'Ermitage di San Pietroburgo e dai Musei civici di Pavia*, ed. Tatiana Kustodieva and Susanna Zatti, exh. cat. (Milan: Skira, 2011), 124–25.

64. Pugliese, Donati, and Puppi, eds., *Tiziano, Bordon e gli Acquaviva d'Aragona*, 195–200.

65. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*, 261, wrote, "The works [Cesare] left [in the South] were major factors in the tardy conversion to a sixteenth-century style of those local schools."

66. Tom Henry and Paul Joannides, eds., *Late Raphael*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo nacional del Prado, 2012), 88–93, disputing Konrad Oberhumber's dating of 1512, with reproductions of the preparatory drawings and the Marco Dente print.

67. Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, ed. and trans. Jean Julia Chai (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 160, praises Cesare along with Lotto as artists who "knew to distribute lights in their proper place with the same mastery that the ancient painter of Caunus had once shown."

68. Compare the figure of St. Lucy with the figure of the Virgin in Perugino's *Last Communion of St. Bernard* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) or the Magdalene in the *Crucifixion* triptych (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art).

69. "[I]n la sinistra gamba riverberava la imagine del dragone, così ben rappresentata in la luce delle arme come in vetro di specchio." Nicolini, *L'arte napoletana del rinascimento e la lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel*, 157–76, at 162.

70. Cesare's attention to Cima is noted by Vita Segreto in Viscuso, *Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia,* 249. On the Cima altarpiece, see Giovanni C. F. Villa, *Cima da Conegliano, poeta del paesaggio* (Venice: Marsilio, 2010), 137–39; also Lorenzo Pericolo, "Heterotopia in the Renaissance: Modern Hybrids as Antiques in Bramante, Cima da Conegliano, and the *Hypnerotomachia*," *Getty Research Journal* 1 (2009): 1–16.

71. "[È] Raffaello il nume tutelare del dipinto." Carminati, *Cesare da Sesto*, 85.

72. Vita Segreto, entry in *Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia,* ed. Viscuso, 249, regards Cesare's altarpiece as bringing to Sicily "sul giorgionismo, sul gusto antiquario, sulla pittura di Raffaello e di Michelangelo a Roma."

73. Carmelo Traselli, "Genovesi in Sicilia," in *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* (1969), 169, emphasizing that the Genoese community registered the political vicissitudes of their own city and that they remained detached from the political turmoil of Sicily in the years 1513–25.

74. Traselli, "Genovesi in Sicilia"; and Traselli, "I rapporti tra Genova e la Sicilia: Dai Normanni al '900," in *Genova e i genovesi a Palermo. Atti delle manifestazioni culturali* (Genoa: SAGEP, 1980); and Dauverd, "Genoese and Catalans: Trade Diaspora in Early Modern Sicily," 42–61.

75. For an overview, see Paolini, "Pittori genovesi in Sicilia," 39–59; and Fausta Franchini Guelfi, "Genovesi in Sicilia: Imprese commerciali e finanziarie e committenza artistica di una nazione di mercatores," *La Casana* 1 suppl. (2001): 38–45.

76. Mauro Natale, *Collezione PKB. Dipinti del Rinascimento in Italia Settentrionale* (Lugano: PKB, 2008), 74–76.

77. Cecile Scailliérez, "Joos van Cleve e Genova," in *Pittura fiamminga in Liguria: Secoli XIV e XVII*, ed. Paolo Boccardo and Clario Di Fabio (Genova: Banca Carige, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Genova e Imperia, 1997), 110–25, 126–49; also Gianluca Zanelli, "Pittura fiamminga a Genova all'inizio del XVI secolo. Il 'caso Joos van Cleve,'" in *Joos van Cleve e Genova. Intorno al ritratto di Stefano Raggio*, ed. F. Simonetti and G. Zanelli (Genoa: Maschietto Editore, 2003), 19–41, 106–9.

78. Antonello Gagini's altarpiece of St. George, made in 1520 for the Genoese Battista Cattaneo in the church of San Francesco d'Assisi in Palermo, is based on an altarpiece design by Sacchi for a Franciscan foundation near Genoa—the convent of the Annunziata at Levanto in Liguria.

79. Vincenzo's origins and training are much debated, but the case has been made convincingly by Viscuso, ed., *Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia*, 219. Teresa Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia. La Sicilia occidentale, 1484–1557* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1998), 165, adheres to the older scholarly tradition of connecting Vincenzo with Rome.

80. See Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia. La Sicilia occidentale*, 182–84.

81. For instance, in 1539, "hon. Magistrum Vincentium lu Romanu pictorem." Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia. La Sicilia occidentale*, 173.

82. For an illustration see Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia. La Sicilia occidentale*, 167.

83. Vasari/Milanesi, 5:101–2. The collaboration is most visible in the *Baptism of Christ* in the Gallarati Scotti Collection, Milan, where Cesare reworked

his central composition from the Cavi di Terreni altarpiece in highly refined idiom, while Bernazzano supplied an Altdorfer-like landscape abounding in rock formations and rich flora and fauna. Bernazzano was long believed to be Netherlandish, and only the finding of his will and testament confirms his birth in Inzago, near Milan, in 1492. See Janice Shell and Grazioso Sironi, "Bernardinus dictus Bernazanus de Marchixelis dictus de Quagis de Inzago," *Arte cristiana* 78 (1990): 363–66.

84. On the controversies about standard literary Italian in the 1500s, or the "questione della lingua," see Angelo Mazzocco, *Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); Riccardo Drusi, *La lingua cortigiana romana. Note su un aspetto della questione cinquecentesca della lingua* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1995); and Maurizio Campanelli, "Languages," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 137–62.

85. Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti*, 1:358 (Cesare and Lotto), 365 (the Campi and Cesare's Messina *Adoration*), 2:97 (Cesare and Raphael), 163 (Leonardo, Cesare, and Dürer), 174 (Cesare in a list of renowned colorists including Sarto, Correggio, Titian, Gaudenzio, and Boccaccino).

86. For a comprehensive analysis of the painting, see Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Polidoro da Caravaggio. L'opera completa* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001), 343–55; and Hansen, "After the Veronica."

87. Cola Giacomo d'Alibrando, *Il Spasmo di Maria Vergine. Ottave per un dipinto di Polidoro da Caravaggio a Messina* (Naples: Paparo edizioni, 1999).

88. Roberto Longhi, "Un apice di Polidoro da Caravaggio," *Paragone* 245 (1970): 3–7.

89. "Il trauma di certo ci fu." De Castris, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, 278.

90. Giovanni Molonia, "Antonello Gagini a Messina. Documenti e ipotesi," in *Aspetti della scultura a Messina dal XV al XX secolo*, ed. Gioacchino Barbera (Messina: La grafica editoriale, 2003), 61–74. On the frame for Raphael's painting, see Maria Antonietta Spadaro, "Il complesso dello Spasimo e l'altare di Antonello Gagini," in Viscuso, ed., *Vincenzo degli Azani da Pavia*, 39–49.

91. Hanno Walter Kruft, "Antonello Gagini as Co-author with Michelangelo on the Tomb of Pope Julius II," *Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975): 598.

92. Pugliatti, "La cultura iberico–raffaellesca a Napoli e lo *Spasimo* a Palermo," in Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia. La Sicilia occidentale*, 103–18, especially 115–16.

93. Alibrando, *Il Spasmo di Maria Vergine*, 16–17, devotes two cantos to the Veil of Veronica, urging the reader to meditate and "behold the impression of his sacred face, painted on that veil" ("vede scolpito / suo sacro volto, e'n quel velo depinto").

94. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance,* 205–7, suggest that the cult of the Holy Face icon in San Bartolomeo in Genoa may be of later propagation, since there are no records of it before 1471, and the legend of its going to Genoa is reported for the first time in a chronicle of 1537. See also Gerhard Wolf et al., *Mandylion: Intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova,* exh. cat. (Milan: Skira, 2004).

95. Placido Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa vergine madre di Dio Maria protettrice di Messina* (Messina: P. Grillo, 1644), 617.

96. Alibrando, *Il Spasmo di Maria Vergine*, 7: "Taccio ancor l'indulgenzie che vi sono / il mercoredi ne i dí di penitenzia, / e quelle che le dié Clemente in duono/ ne i lunidi con santa providenzia, / che la fe' con voler piastoso e buono / un'altra Roma piena di eccellenzia, / donandole indulgenzie tante, e tali / qual ha in Roma né mica dissequali."

97. Vasari/Milanesi, 1:894.

98. On the foundation itself, see Andreas Tönnesmann and Ursula Fischer Pace, *Santa Maria della Pietà: Die Kirche des Campo Santo Teutonico* (Rome: Herder, 1988).

99. Giulio Mancini, *Considerationi sulla pittura* (1617–24), ed. Adriana Marucchi and Luigi Salerno (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1956), 173; and Cesare Pacchiotti, "Nuove attribuzioni a Polidoro da Caravaggio in Roma," *L'arte* 30 (1927): 189–221, at 206–12.

100. Pugliatti, *Pittura del Cinquecento in Sicilia. La Sicilia occidentale*, 198.

Chapter 4

1. On the export of Venetian altarpieces, see Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 127–35, 157–59; and Humfrey, "The Demand from Abroad," in *Venice*

and the Veneto, ed. Peter Humfrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 327–41. On the export of Venetian altarpieces to Puglia, see Pugliese, Donati, and Puppi, eds., *Tiziano, Bordon e gli Acquaviva d'Aragona*, 13–29, 161–204; and Louisa Matthew, *Lorenzo Lotto and the Patronage and Production of Venetian Altarpieces in the Early Sixteenth Century,* 194 and following. On Venetian painting in the Adriatic region before and after Lotto, see Valter Curzi, *Pittura veneta nelle Marche* (Cisinello Balsamo: Amilcare Pizzi, 2000).

2. In 1546 Lotto sent pictures (a *Nativity*, a *Baptism of Christ*) to Messina to be sold by the jeweler Lauro Orso, a pupil of the painter's friend Bartolomeo Carpan. For the record in Lotto's account book, see Francesco De Carolis, ed., *Lorenzo Lotto: Il Libro di spese diverse* (Trieste: EUT, 2017), 202–3; and another in Lotto's will of 1546 in Peter Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 179–81.

3. The will of 1546 states his wish to be buried in the Dominican convent of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, with which he had had a long association, but all provisions of this will were revoked when he entered the Santa Casa di Loreto as an oblate in 1554. Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 180.

4. The Withypole altarpiece (Bristol Museum and Art Gallery), made for an English merchant in 1514, is signed "Antonius Desolario, Venetus 1514," and is one of the few chronological points of reference for this extraordinary nomadic painter later nicknamed "Il Zingaro" (the Gypsy).

5. Lotto's probable master, Alvise Vivarini of Murano, signed his 1476 Montefiorentino altarpiece "Ludovicus Vivarinus Murianensis P." Luca Signorelli declared his origins "da Cortona" in his *Baptism of Christ* for Arcevia in 1508; Marco Palmezzano of Forlì signed his 1501 Matelica altarpiece "Marchus de Melotius Forlivinsis" (thereby also signaling his relationship to the older famous painter from Forlì); and Girolamo Savoldo of Brescia wrote "Opera di Jouane Jeronimo de Brisia de Savoldj" on his 1530 Pesaro altarpiece.

6. "Si contigeret ipsi Laurentio profisci seu ire velle ad alia loca sive civitates vel terras sive in Agro Bergomensi sive per Italiam sive extra Italiam ac partes Gallicas sive Germanie." C. Caversazzi, "Un discepolo bergamasco di Lorenzo Lotto," *Bergomum* 34 (1940): 122–27, at 125.

7. "[T]utti li miei modelli de cerra et altre figure: etiam rilievi de gesso, siane fatte tre parte equale per li sopre nominati periti a tre mei descipuli absenti in Bergamo una a M. Francesco di Boneti pictor l'altra in la Marcha alla Mandula a m. Julio poctor et . . . terzo in Ragusa M. Pietro venitiano pictor." For the 1531 will, see Francesca Cortesi Bosco, "Autografi inediti di Lotto. Il primo testamento (1531) e un codicillo (1533)," *Bergomum* 93 (1998): 7–73. At an advanced stage of writing I became aware of the discussion of Lotto's wills and their geographic implications by David Frapiccini, "Lorenzo Lotto e gli strumenti del mestiere. La periferia come consapevole scelta strategica," *Il capital culturale* 10 (2014): 239–79. I am in general agreement with Frapiccini that Lotto's bequests constitute a geographic strategy, but less so with his claim that models were transmitted from a Venetian center to a Lombard or Marchigian "periphery." Lotto did precisely the opposite.

8. Bernard Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto: An Essay in Constructive Art Criticism* (New York: G. B. Putnam's Sons, 1895), 21–125. Even Frapiccini, "Lorenzo Lotto e gli strumenti del mestiere," highly invested in connections between Lotto and the *bergamasco* Palma il Vecchio, finds (249) in Lotto "sempre qualcosa di visceralmente lombardo."

9. Vasari wavers on the question of what kind of Venetian identity can be assigned to Lotto, asserting that he was a follower sometimes of Bellini and sometimes of Giorgione: "Fu compagno ed amico del Palma Lorenzo Lotto pittor veneziano, il quale avendo imitato un tempo la maniera de' Bellini, s'appiccò poi a quella di Giorgione." Vasari/Milanesi, 5:249. The enterprise of "placing" Lotto in Venice by postulating his training in a range of possible workshops preoccupied Berenson in his 1895 monograph. Other scholars had tried to find origins in Bergamo or elsewhere in Lombardy. In Zampetti and Sgarbi, eds., *Lorenzo Lotto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi per il V centenario della nascita, Asolo 18–21 settembre 1980,* one contributor, Giorgio Mascherpa, "Il Lotto, il nord, e l'identità smarrita," 181–87, argued for Lotto's stronger affinities with transalpine art. Matthew, *Lorenzo Lotto and the Patronage and Production of Venetian Altarpieces in the Early Sixteenth Century*, also urges a more complex view of Lotto as a "Venetian" artist.

10. On grafting and the "materialist naturalism" of Venetian pictorial invention after Giorgione, see Stephen J. Campbell, "Naturalism and the Venetian Poesia: Grafting, Metaphor and Embodiment in Giorgione, Titian and the Campagnolas," in *Subject as Aporia in Italian Renaissance Art*, ed. Lorenzo Pericolo and Alexander Nagel (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 115–42.

11. Frapiccini, "Lorenzo Lotto e gli strumenti del mestiere," 254–55, attempting to rationalize the apparent anomaly of Lotto importing models from the periphery to the center—these include the St. Giacomo d'Orio altarpiece of 1546 and the 1544 St. Roch and St. Sebastian altarpiece for the convent of the Maddalena in Treviso—has to posit the extension of the *periferia* into Venice itself, in the form of a laboring public that was "not too sophisticated," even suggesting that Lotto included motifs from Vittore Crivelli from the periphery of the Marches.

12. "Di queste cattive tinte parmi, che si vegga assai notabile esempio in una tavola di Lorenzo Lotto, che è qui in Vinegia nella Chiesa de' Carmini." Mark Roskill, ed., *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968, 2000), 154.

13. Beverly L. Brown, in *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian*, ed. Bernard Aikema and Beverly L. Brown, exh. cat. (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 466, considers the work to be an instance of Lotto's "emulating Titian's classical style," because "the division of the composition into two distinct halves clearly recalls Titian's *Assumption* of 1518," yet in addition to the Scorel and a Patinir hagiographic landscape in the collection of Domenico Grimani, she points to analogies with Dürer's *Fall of the Rebel Angels* woodcut. To my mind the Dürer connection is far more persuasive than any reference to Titian, since it provides a strong visual analogy for the group of figures in the skies over a panoramic landscape.

14. For a critique of the literature on Lotto's religious heterodoxy, see Massimo Firpo, *Artisti, gioiellieri, eretici. Il mondo di Lorenzo Lotto tra Riforma e Controriforma* (Bari: Laterza, 2001), 3–36. In his review of Lotto literature and the exhibition held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, in 1998, Alexander Nagel, "Recent Literature on Lorenzo Lotto," *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 742–47, perceived in Lotto's works—especially the "hieroglyphic" compositions for the Bergamo intarsia covers and the rebuses in the portraits—a symptom of meaning in crisis in the Renaissance image that necessitated the reform of art (744): "In short, a strenuous effort to marshal all of the resources of pictorial expressiveness fails to yield a communicable message." Once again Lotto is consigned to the margins of a protomodern Renaissance.

15. "This picture was painted by Lorenzo Lotto, a very devout man, for his own devotion during Holy Week, and was finished on Good Friday at the hour of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I, Giovanni del Coro, wrote this so that it would be known, and that the image would be held in the veneration that it deserves." On the I Tatti *Crucifixion* and its inscription, see Firpo, *Artisti, gioiellieri, eretici. Il mondo di Lorenzo Lotto tra Riforma e Controriforma*, 271–73; and Marco Collareta, "In spirito e verità," in *Lorenzo Lotto*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 145–55, especially 145–46. On the records in Lotto's account book, see De Carolis, *Lorenzo Lotto. Il Libro di spese diverse*, 284, 391; and Francesco De Carolis, "*'Per sua divotione'*. Il Crocifisso Berenson nel *Libro di spese diverse* di Lorenzo Lotto," *Nuovi studi* 19 (2014) 103–8.

16. Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 1:949.

17. Eva Renzulli, "Tales of Flying Shrines and Paved Roads: Loreto, an Early Modern Town of Pilgrimage," *Città e storia* 7 (2012): 27–41.

18. Connections between Lotto and Gaudenzio were explored in Anna Maria Brizio, "Il Sacro Monte di Varallo. Gaudenzio e Lotto," *Bolletino della Società piemontese di archeologia e belle arti* 19 (1965): 35–42, positing Lotto's direct knowledge of the Sacro Monte at Varallo. See also Francesca Cortesi Bosco, *Gli affreschi dell'Oratorio Suardi. Lorenzo Lotto nella crisi della Riforma* (Bergamo: Bolis, 1980), 46–53.

19. Now identified as the work of Fermo Stella, one of Gaudenzio's primary collaborators. Giovanni Romano, ed., *Fermo Stella e Sperindio Cagnoli seguaci di Gaudenzio Ferrari. Un bottega d'arte nel Cinquecento padano* (Milan: Silvana, 2006), 80–85.

20. In his *Trattato* Lomazzo writes, "aveva frequentamente in bocca che ciascum pittore si diletta e compiace di furtare l'invenzione altrui, ma ch'egli e poi gran rischio di non essere scoperto e conosciuto ladro."

Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti,* 2:101. For a recent account of Lomazzo on Gaudenzio Ferrari, see Christine Göttler, "The Temptation of the Senses at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Christine Göttler and Wietse de Boer (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 393–455.

21. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600,* 199.

22. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600,* 199, 268.

23. In 1486 a "preventative authorization" was granted to the Franciscans by Innocent VIII regarding a donation by the inhabitants of Varallo. The official donation was 1493, when the commune of Varallo donated to the order the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie and the site overlooking the town, which already had locations designated as the Holy Sepulcher, the "Eremitorio," and the chapel *subtus crucem* and the *capellam Ascensionis aedificata*. The fundamental history of the Sacro Monte is that of Pietro Galloni, *Sacro Monte di Varallo. Origine e svolgimento delle opere d'arte* (Varallo, 1914). In recent decades the scholars Pier Giorgio Longo, Guido Gentile, and Elena de Filippis have made important contributions in the form of numerous articles. For a comprehensive bibliography and a recent collection of studies especially relevant to the phase of the Sacro Monte's history that concerns me here, see E. de Filippis, ed., *Gaudenzio Ferrari. La Crocifissione del Sacro Monte di Varallo* (Turin: Allemandi, 2006); and *Gaudenzio Ferrari (1475–1546) e il suo tempo: Atti del Convegno* (Momo: Istituto comprensivo G. Ferrari, 2006), with essays by Dorino Tuniz, Edoardo Villata, and Elena de Filippis.

24. "Cessent iam Romanae quas aiunt stationes, cesset ipsa profectio Hierusalem; novum hoc et pientissimum opus omnia refert, atque ipsa fabricate simplicitas et sine arte structura ingenuusque situs omnem superat antiquitatem." On Morone, see Alessandro Nova, "Popular Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Responses to the Holy Mountain at Varallo," in *Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 113–27.

25. This can be determined from a 1514 meditational tract in the form of a guidebook to the Sacro Monte, for which see "Questi sono li misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varalle," in *Una guida poetica del 1514*, ed. Stefania Stefani Perrone (Varallo: Società per la conservazione delle opere d'arte e dei monumenti in Valsesia, 1987). The tract has been discussed by scholars such as Nova, "Popular Art in Renaissance Italy"; and Roberta Panzanelli, "Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the 'New Jerusalem' at Varallo (1486–1530)" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999). On the drift from topomimesis in the course of the 1500s, see Christine Göttler, "Sites for the Devout and Sites for the Curious: Limbo, Purgatory, and Hell at Varallo," in her *Last Things: Art and the Religious Imagination in the Age of Reform* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 84–110; and Annabel Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 97–145.

26. Galloni, *Sacro Monte di Varallo*, 67; and for a recent detailed discussion, Edoardo Villata, "Gaudenzio Ferrari: Gli anni di apprendistato," in *Gaudenzio Ferrari. Gerolamo Giovenone. Un avvio e un percorso,* ed. Edoardo Villata and Simone Baiocco (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2004), 68–72.

27. See the catalogue to the 2018 exhibition (the catalogue appeared when this book was in production), *Il Rinascimento di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, ed. Giovanni Agosti and Jacopo Stoppa (Milan: Officina, 2018), 109–20.

28. Most scholars now follow Giovanni Testori, "Gaudenzio e il Sacro Monte," in *Mostra di Gaudenzio Ferrari* (Milan: Silvana, 1956), 56, who posited Ferrari's presence alongside Scotto in the early 1490s and identified his hand in such works as the *Crucifixion* panel in the Pinacoteca of Varallo. On the problem of identifying the earliest works in sculpture by Ferrari, see now Villata, "Gaudenzio Ferrari: Gli anni di apprendistato," 32–79. For a useful account of Testori's scholarship and his alienation from conventional art history, see Giovanni Agosti, "Testori a Varallo," in *Testori a Varallo—Sacro Monte, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Pinacoteca e Roccapietra* (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2005), 141–59. The question is taken up in *Il Rinascimento di Gaudenzio,* 69-100.

29. I follow the dating in *Il Rinascimento di Gaudenzio* Ferrari, 135, 144. A radical redating of the *Annunciation* to c. 1500 has been proposed by Villata, "Gaudenzio Ferrari: Gli anni di apprendistato," 73–74.

30. For a recent discussion of the dating on the basis of graffiti recording the dates 1521 and 1528 in the chapel, see Guido Gentile, "Sulle trace degli antichi

visitatori. Percorsi e graffiti," in *Gaudenzio Ferrari: La Crocifissione*, ed. de Filippis, 70–71; see also, in the same volume, Rossana Sacchi, "Chi non ha veduto quel sepolcro, non può dir di sapere che cosa sia pittura," 22–24.

31. Michele Bacci, "Performed Topographies and Topomimetic Piety: Imaginative Sacred Spaces in Medieval Italy," in *Spatial Icons: Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia, ed. Alexei Lidov* (Moscow: Indrik, 2011), 101–18, at 110.

32. David Leatherbarrow, "The Image and Its Setting: A Study of the Sacro Monte at Varallo," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 14 (1987): 107–22, especially 108, 109. On "active and performative viewing" at Varallo before the Counter-Reformation, see Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Touch Me, Touch Me Not: Re-evaluating the Senses, Gender, and Performativity in Early Modernity,* ed. Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli, *Open Arts Journal* 4 (November 2014): 112–32. For a wide-ranging analysis of how the "divisiveness and particularity" of place can be overcome by "ritualized" "structures of temporality," see Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), especially 74–95.

33. The wider historical shift in geographic mentality signaled in the *sacri monti* is outlined in Santino Langé, "Problematiche emergenti nella storiografia dui Sacri Monti," in *Sacri Monti. Devozione, arte e cultura della Controriforma*, ed. Luciano Vaccari and Francesca Riccardi (Milan: Jaca, 1992), 1–25.

34. Pier Giorgio Longo, "L'eco di un grido. Il contesto religioso e devozionale della cappella della Crocifissione," in *Gaudenzio Ferrari. La Crocifissione del Sacro Monte di Varallo*, ed. Elena de Filippis (Turin: Allemandi, 2006), 57–63, at 61.

35. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance,* 61, for the claim that the Sacro Monte "reproduces the sites of Jerusalem in over forty chapels."

36. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance,* 61.

37. See the chronology of records pertaining to the Sacro Monte from 1480 to 1530 in Stefania Stefani Perrone, "La 'Gerusalemme' delle origini nella secolare vicenda edificatoria," in *Sacri Monti. Devozione, arte e cultura della Controriforma*, ed. Luciano Vaccari and Francesca Riccardi (Milan: Jaca, 1992), 27–59, at 34, citing Giovanni Battista Fassola, *La Nuova Gerusalemme, o sia Il Santo Sepolcro di Varallo, consacrata alla Augustissima Regina Maria Anna d'Austria . . .* (Milan: per Federico Agnelli, 1671), 22.

38. See Göttler, "Sites for the Devout," in *Last Things.*

39. According to Panzanelli, *Pilgrimage in Hyperreality*, 142: "In 1514 the evangelical narrative was almost entirely represented at Varallo, as the guide shows." The sequence in the guide is as follows: (1) Chapel of the Virgin resting on the Way to the Calvary; (2) Annunciation; (3) Nativity with the manger and the Arrival of the Magi; (4) Chapel of the Circumcision; (5) Cenacolo on Mount Zion, including a Washing of the Feet; (6) Christ leaving Peter, John, and James in Gethsemane; (7) chapel with seven disciples asleep in Gethsemane; (8) Grotto of the prayer in the garden with Christ and an angel; (9) Christ goes to meet Judas (painting); (10) Chapel of the Arrest of Christ (unfinished) and Christ before Annas (planned); (11) Christ before Pilate (planned); (12) Christ falling with the cross; (13) Christ stripped with a rope around his neck and Mary and John; (14) Crucifixion with two thieves and Mary Magdalene at foot of cross; on a wall the sorrow of the Virgin with two Marys; (15) stone of unction; (16) portico of the sepulcher; (17) Chapel of the Sepulcher with instruments of the Passion borne by angels, an angel seated on stone with "Non est hic"; a kneeling Magdalene and an oil painting of the Resurrection; (18) stone of the sepulcher; (19) Christ appearing to his mother with niches containing relics of the column of the Flagellation and a fragment of the Cross; (20) Christ appearing to the Magdalene; (21) Christ appearing to apostles, Doubting Thomas, Peter crying after his betrayal; (22) *Sacra orma* (Holy Footprint) and Ascension; (23) Christ teaching the Paternoster; (24) Christ teaching the Creed; (25) descent of the Holy Spirit; (26) annunciation of the death of the Virgin in a relief over an altar; (27) Chiesa Vecchia with St. John celebrating Mass for the Virgin; Dormition and Assumption (in dome); (28) sepulcher of the Virgin; (29) sepulchers of Joachim and Anna; (30) Fountain of the Resurrection.

40. However, for Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 131, such confusion itself participates in the topomimesis of Jerusalem: "The Sacro Monte presented an under-

standing of the landscape that promised to replicate the experience of the pilgrim in a complex space: disordered by geography, marked by incoherence, interrupted by overlap."

41. Bacci, "Performed Topographies and Topomimetic Piety." Also D. M. Lasansky, "Body Elision: Acting Out the Passion at the Italian Sacri Monti," in *The Body in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 247–73; and Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind."

42. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 215.

43. Georgia Frank, "The Pilgrim's Gaze in the Age before Icons," in *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 98–115.

44. Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 90–91.

45. Nova, "Popular Art in Renaissance Italy," 105.

46. On the image of Christ as "Fount of Mercy" at Alpine pilgrimage sites, see Mitchell B. Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory, and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), especially 98 and following. Much of Merback's analysis is focused on the shrine at Pulkau, where pilgrim devotions continued despite the lack of a unique sacred object (the founding miracle object, a Host that had bled when desecrated by Jews, had allegedly disappeared).

47. According to Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 131, "the shift from Varallo as a map of Jerusalem to Varallo as a resume of Jesus's career involved a programmatic move from experiential to dogmatic space. That change corresponds to the demands of Counter-Reformation piety." This, however, overlooks the degree to which such a shift might have been in process well before the Counter-Reformation. Some of the later *sacri monti* did, in fact, develop from shrines with relics or miraculous images. Crea had its origins in a sanctuary to a statue of the Virgin associated with the fourth-century St. Eusebius of Vercelli. Oropa was originally dedicated to a "Black Madonna," while Orta had a miraculous *Pietà* that performed cures from 1538; on the latter, see Giovanni Gentile, "Evocazione topografica, composizione di luogo e tipologia dei Sacri Monti," in *Sacri Monti. Devozione, arte e cultura della Controriforma*, ed. Luciano Vaccari and Francesca Riccardi (Milan: Jaca, 1992), 99–100.

48. Smith, *To Take Place*, 117.

49. Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, 108–9.

50. The early sources are summarized in Ronald Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 39–45.

51. Translation from Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli*, 41. On the problem of the identification of the cult image as both sculpture and painting, see Fabio Bisogni, "Iconografia lauretana. Prototipi e sviluppi," in *Loreto. Crocevia religiosa tra l'Italia, Europa e Oriente*, ed. Ferdinando Citterio and Luciano Vaccaro (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1997), 329–47.

52. For an account of this progressive papal encroachment, see the indispensable study by Giorgio Cracco, "Alle origini dei santuari mariani. Il caso di Loreto," in *Loreto. Crocevia religiosa*, ed. Citterio and Vaccaro, 97–164. Cracco's experience as a historian of Italian Marian shrines gives him a richer comparative perspective than Loreto's local historians. On conflicts between the bishops of Recanati and the rectors of Loreto, see, in the same volume, Mario Sensi, "Vescovi di Recanati e rettori della Santa Casa. Conflitti giurisdizionali per un santuario polivalente," 211–43.

53. Eclogue 8.180–90; see Baptista Mantuanus, *Adulescentia*, ed. Lee Piepho (New York: Garland, 1989), 77. On Mantuanus and Loreto, see further Giuseppe Santarelli, "La Madonna di Loreto nei testi poetici del secolo XV," in *Loreto. Crocevia religiosa*, ed. Citterio and Vaccaro, 511; and Cracco, "Alle origini dei santuari mariani," 141–42.

54. Floriano Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV–XVII* (Foligno: Bollettino storico della Città di Foligno, 2001), 82.

55. On the dating of Teramano's text and its agenda of "filoRecanatismo," see Cracco, "Alle origini dei santuari mariani," 133–37.

56. "Mons quidem est Recenatensi agro adiacens, non multum a maritimis litoribus Anconitanaque civitate distans, tantae altitudinis ut ab una parte per lata aequora, ab altera per camporum planitiem quique conspicere valeat, in quartoque lapide a civitate constitute." Cracco, "Alle origini dei santuari mariani," 152.

57. Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Venice: Bonelli, 1553), fol. 153r–v: "Era in questo luogo [Loreto] anticamente (secondo alcuni) Cupra Montana da Plinio nella quinto regione nominate Cupra Montana, riposte ne i Mediterranei del Piceno. Cosi e a lui cognominata Montana a differentia di Cupra Marittima. Voglioni alcuni che in questo luogo ove e il sacratissimo Tempio descritto, fosse il superbo Tempio di Giunone tanto honorato, et riverito da gli antichi, si come conferma Pietro Marso ne'Comentari sopra quell verso di Silio Italico nell'ottavo. Et quis littoreae, fumant altaria Cuprae; dicendo, che fosse Cupra una città posta al mare, ov'era il Tempio di Giunone da i Toscani edificato, dimandat il Tempio della Cupra Giunone."

58. For Caimi's landscape exegesis, see Leatherbarrow, "The Image and Its Setting," 107. The rift in the mountain is portrayed in the woodcut illustration to Francesco Saselli's 1566 pilgrim's guide; see Federico Fontana, Renata Lodari, and Paolo Sorrenti, eds., *Luoghi e vie di pellegrinaggio. I sacri monti di Piemonte e della Lombardia*, exh. cat. (Cascina Valperone: Regione Piemonte, 2004), fig. 37.

59. A 1518 account by the French pilgrim Jacques Le Saige reports his day trip to see "le lieu ou le saincte chamber fut premierment apporteé des anges." Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV–XVII*, 133.

60. "Procurino di conservare il fervore, e gusto spirituale, col quale si partono da casa, alzando la mente a Dio più volte fra il giorno: e cerchino di cavar frutto delle cose che trovano per la strada, con qualche consideratione: il che si potrà fare a questo modo. Li fiori, e l'altre belle cose, che vedranno per la campagna, li facciano ricordarsi della bellezza, e felicità del Paradiso: gli uccelli che sentiranno cantare, gli riduchino alla memoria i canti soavissimi de gli angioli: le fontane, e tutte l'altre cose, che causeranno ricreatione, li facciano pensare le delitie della gloria, dove si trova il compimento d'ogni bene: et all'incontro li precipitij, e profonde valli, i laghi, e l'altre cose brutte, et horrende li faccino imaginare le pene dell inferno, et gl'innumerabili danni che per si brevi diletti, come qui hebbero patiranno li dannati eternamente." Bernardino Cirillo, *Trattato sopra l'historia della santa chiesa et casa della gloriosa vergine santa Maria di Loreto* (1573), in Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV–XVII*, 47.

61. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 203.

62. See the examples discussed in Massimo Tenenti, "Esempi di repliche italiane del sacello lauretano tra XVII e XVIII secolo," in *Pellegrini verso Loreto. Atti del Convegno Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XV–XVIII, 8–10 novembre 2001,* ed. Floriano Grimaldi and Katy Sordi (Ancona: Studi e testi/Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche 21, 2003), 391–411; and Maria Ranucci and Massimo Tenenti, *Sei riproduzioni della Santa Casa di Loreto in Italia: Aversa–Parma–Catania–Venezia / San Clemente–Venezia / San Pantalon–Vescovana* (Loreto: Congregazione universale della Santa Casa, 2003).

63. Undoubtedly, for some of the devout the Loretan archetype was operative in the reproductions, but for others the relationship was not synechdochic but metaphoric—that is, the replica did not participate in the original but commemorated it through allusion. For Erasmus, who wrote a litany for the Santa Casa in 1523, its reproducibility was a matter of poetic evocation: "No tree among all the aromatic ones is more pleasing than the laurel; it's the bearer of peace, it interrupts the fearsome combats, it keeps away the flaming thunderbolt. It has health bearing boughs and it shines with undying vigor. . . . Let wherever there is laurel rejoice to be called Lauretana, anywhere within the confines of the vast orb where many other altars burn." (E liturgia Virginis Lauretanae / Inter odoriferas non gratior arbor ulla lauro; / Pacifera est, dirimens fera proelia, fulmen arcet ardens, / Baccas habet salubres, / Iugi nitet vigore. / . . . Laurus esto, gaudeasque / Usque Lauretana dici, / Licet in vasti finibus orbis / Plurima passim fumiget ara.) Cited in Santarelli, "La Madonna di Loreto nei testi poetici del secolo XV," 517. Erasmus in these verses hardly seems like the skeptic who "took deadly aim at the topos of the miraculously transported Marian shrine," as claimed by Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 212.

64. Gentile, "Evocazione topografica," 99.

65. Galloni, *Sacro Monte di Varallo*, 108.

66. Galloni, *Sacro Monte di Varallo*, 113. Apparently a stone bore a dedication to the god Phoebus, but this had recently been used to refurbish a bridge. Giovanni Testori, in *Gaudenzio alle porte di Varallo* (Milan: Pizzi, 1960), analyzed Gaudenzio's frescoes in the shrine and attributed to him the elegant portico added to the original structure.

67. This appears to have been less the case with foreign pilgrims: of fifty wills from the period 1427–86 in the state archives at Zagreb with endowments for the Loreto pilgrimage, only two record provisions to send pilgrims to Gargano. The wills are all excerpted in Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV–XVII*, 272–76.

68. Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV–XVII*, 246–57, reproduces more than one hundred wills from 1383 to 1527 from several Marchigian archives: twenty-two provide for pilgrimages to Gargano. It is worth noting, however, that one of Lotto's last paintings, made after he moved into the hospice at Loreto, was *St. Michael Defeating Satan* (Santa Casa di Loreto, Pinacoteca).

69. Recanati, Osimo, and Fabriano were held by Francesco Sforza from 1433 to 1443; Michele Rosi, *Della signoria di Francesco Sforza nella Marca* (Recanati: Rinaldo Simboli, 1895), 82. On the alliance of the Sforza with the Malatesta in the region, see Philip P. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State: A Political History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 186–93.

70. Cracco, "Alle origini dei santuari mariani," 159–60.

71. Alessandro Sforza was lord of Pesaro; Sforza forces occupied Osimo in 1433; a pilgrimage in 1437 by Francesco Sforza and Alessandro and Sigismondo Malatesta preceded military occupation of Loreto in 1438. After affirming Francesco Sforza's lordship of cities in the March of Ancona in February 1439, Pope Eugenius IV sought to dispossess him of these in 1442 by forming an alliance with his former enemy Filippo Maria Visconti. Joachim Stieber, Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 193–96. Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV–XVII*, 420–27, provides a catalogue of princely visitors from the 1440s through the 1700s, which for the 1400s includes the leading members of all the major and many minor dynasties. See also Giovanna Pirani, "Ancona, pellegrini e pellegrinaggi. Fonti e testimonianze," in *Pellegrini verso Loreto. Atti del convegno Pellegrini e Pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XV–XVIII, Loreto 8–10 novembre 2001*, ed. Floriano Grimaldi and Katy Sordi (Ancona: Studi e testi/Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche 21, 2003), 287–323.

72. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples,* 30.

73. Mantuanus, *Adulescentia*, ed. Piepho, Eclogue 9, p. 84; the editor notes (125) that the eclogue became a favorite with Lutherans and was a model for Spenser's anti-Catholic satire in his eclogue "September."

74. The commune of Recanati voted to approve a civic pilgrimage to the Santa Casa and the offering of a crown to the Virgin in 1496; Monte San Giusto did so in 1523–24. Matthew, *Lorenzo Lotto and the Patronage and Production of Venetian Altarpieces in the Early Sixteenth Century*, 17, 33. For other and more frequent instances, see Maria Grazia Pancaldi, "Fonti documentarie relative alla devozione popolare conservate negli Archivi di Stato di Macerata e Camerino," in *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV–XVII*, ed. Floriano Grimaldi (Foligno: Bollettino storico della città di Foligno, 2001), 263–86. Regarding the promotion of the cult in Ancona, albeit focusing on the 1600s and 1700s, see Pirani, "Ancona, pellegrini e pellegrinaggi," 287–323.

75. See Grimaldi, *Pellegrini e pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XIV–XVII*, 98–101 (on Macereto), and 92 and following (Atri).

76. On the Ascoli *Annunciation* with reference to recent bibliography, see the entry in *Ornament and Illusion,* ed. Campbell, 196–201.

77. See transcriptions in *Lorenzo Lotto a Loreto e Recanati* (Loreto: Archivio storico Santa Casa, 1980), 81–82. On the altarpiece, see also Augusto Gentili, "Glorie cittadine e presenza domenicana nel Polittico di Recanati," in *I giardini di contemplazione. Lorenzo Lotto, 1503–1512* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1982), 141–55; Loretta Mozzoni and Gloriano Paoletti, eds., *Lorenzo Lotto, ". . . mi è forza andar a far alcune opere in la Marcha . . ."* (Jesi: Assessorato alla Cultura Pinacoteca comunale, 2009), 54–60; the entry by Giovanni Villa in *Lorenzo Lotto*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 100–102; and that by Vittoria Garibaldi in *Lotto nelle Marche,* ed. Vittoria Garibaldi, Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa, and Marta Paraventi (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 20–35. Francesca Coltrinari, "Ipotesi per la presenza di Lorenzo Lotto a Recanati prima del polittico di San Domenico. Recanati, la sua fiera, la circolazione di dipinti e oggetti d'arte via mare," in *Lorenzo Lotto. Per una geografia dell'anima. Convegno internazionale di studi in occasione del 450o anniversario della morte di Lorenzo Lotto*

(Recanati, Jesi, Monte San Giusto, Mogliano, Ancona, Loreto, 14–20 aprile 2007), ed. L. Mozzoni (Florence: Giunti 2009), 48–65, upholds an earlier view by Pietro Zampetti that Lotto shipped works to the fair at Recanati, where paintings by other artists (for instance, Neri di Bicci of Florence and Giovanni di Gaeta from the kingdom of Naples) were certainly sold in the previous decades. She also considers the possibility that the Capodimonte *Virgin and Child with St. Peter Martyr* was one of these works.

78. Vasari's identifications are corroborated by Gentili, "Glorie cittadine e presenza domenicana nel Polittico di Recanati," 141–55.

79. Vasari/Milanesi, 5:250–51.

80. On the Dominican context, see Fabio Marcelli, "Polifonia lauretana di Lorenzo Lotto," *Predella* 30 (2011): 229–73, underscoring the role of the Dominican vicar general Tommaso di Vio, who had previously lived in the community of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, with which Lotto maintained a lifelong association.

81. On Lotto and Dürer, and the broader phenomenon of the reception of Dürer in Italy, see Minna Heimburger, *Dürer e Venezia. Influssi di Albrecht Dürer sulla pittura veneziana del primo Cinquecento* (Rome: Bozzi, 1999).

82. Perugino produced a *pala* for Fano in 1493–97 and another near-identical one for Senigallia; Bartolomeo di Maestro Gentile painted an example for Ginestreto in 1499, modeled on the *pala* by Marco Zoppo in nearby Pesaro; and Giovanni Mansueti made one for Urbino around 1500. In 1501 Marco Palmezzano of Forlì produced a single-field altarpiece of the Virgin and saints at Matelica; Antonio Solario painted one for Fermo in 1502 and for Osimo in 1506, as did Signorelli at Arcevia in 1508, Francesco Zaganelli at Casteldimezzo near Pesaro in 1510, and Timoteo Viti at Cagli in 1512.

83. Christa Gardner Von Teuffel, "Carlo Crivelli e l'introduzione della pala d'altare rinascimentale nelle Marche," in *Crivelli e Brera*, ed. Emanuela Daffra, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 2009), 93–109. Most of the other examples are illustrated and discussed in Paolo del Poggetto and Pietro Zampetti, eds., *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche. Il suo tempo, il suo influsso* (Florence: Centro Di, 1981).

84. For example, the polyptych of 1490 painted by Bartolomeo Vivarini for Valalta near Bergamo, now in Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum. Peter Humfrey, "Bartolomeo Vivarini's St. James Polyptych and Its Provenance," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 22 (1994): 11–20, notes that between 1480 and 1530 the Venetian workshops of Vivarini, Carpaccio, and Cima experienced a sudden upsurge of commissions from the Bergamo region, almost all of them for polyptychs. Bartolomeo Vivarini painted no fewer than seven for this region between 1485 and 1491. Titian's great altarpiece of 1523 in Brescia continued to demonstrate the polyptych's usefulness and its aesthetic appeal: Titian approached it as a series of easel pictures forming a coordinated whole, with the result that the duke of Ferrara tried to acquire the righthand panel of Sts. Sebastian and Roch.

85. For the polyptych, see Mauro Lucco, *Bartolomeo Cincani detto Montagna* (Vicenza: Zel Edizioni, 2014), 335–36.

86. See, for instance, Carlo Crivelli's 1483 *Virgin and Child with St. Peter Receiving the Keys*, now Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, painted for San Pietro in Muralto in Camerino, which recapitulates the relatively rare iconography of an earlier painting probably made for the same location, Giovanni di Corraduccio's *pala* of about 1400–1420, now at Macerata, Pinacoteca Comunale. Von Teufel, "Carlo Crivelli," 97; another example is Lorenzo d'Allessandro's *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* from the 1490s (London, National Gallery).

87. For Zenale, see the triptych of about 1499 in Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana. The only comparable recent work in Venice was by a foreigner: the 1506 *Feast of the Rose Garlands* by Dürer, in which the enthroned Christ and the Virgin place floral crowns on the heads of the pope and emperor. The sense of momentary interaction was found, too, in Tura's Roverella polyptych in Ferrara from the late 1480s, in which kneeling patrons were shown as knocking on the door to heaven, and (according to an inscription) calling on the Virgin to waken the Christ Child; the unusual action of the donors is no longer observable in the now-fragmentary altarpiece but was referred to in a still faintly legible inscription and in a description by the antiquarian Giacomo Baruffaldi in 1709. Stephen J. Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics and the Renaissance City, 1450–1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 99–131; and, for a redating of the work to 1487, Enrico Peverada, "Vernissage del Politicco Roverella

nella chiesa olivetana di S. Giorgio, (agosto 1487)," *Analecta pomposiana* 34 (2009): 369–83.

88. Gentili, "Glorie cittadine e presenza domenicana nel Polittico di Recanati," 152, aptly notes: "La rinuncia degli angeli alla musica é segnale dell'intromissione della storia, che, dopo aver celebrato figure e moment del passato, ora coniuga apertamente il presente."

89. Marcelli, "Polifonia laurentana di Lorenzo Lotto," 237.

90. For an overview of Lotto's early chronology, see David Frapiccini, "Lorenzo Lotto sulla via di Loreto," in *Lorenzo Lotto e i tesori artistici di Loreto*, ed. Giovanni Morello (Rome: Artifex, 2014), 25–58, especially 25–29.

91. Arnold Nesselrath, "Il periodo romano del Lotto," in *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche*, ed. del Poggetto and Zampetti, 22–38. See also Oldfield, "Lorenzo Lotto." I am less convinced by arguments that Lotto executed the vault of the Stanza d'Eliodoro proposed in Arnold Nesselrath, "Lotto as Raphael's Collaborator in the Stanza di Eliodoro," *Burlington Magazine* 146 (November 2004): 732–74. The vault, once attributed to Peruzzi and probably to be seen as an emulation of Peruzzi's style in the vault of the Sala di Galatea in Villa Chigi, was almost certainly executed after Lotto had left Rome.

92. The altarpiece, not an Assumption as it is often described, and more probably related to emerging iconographies of the Immaculate Conception, utterly transformed the Bellini tradition of the *sacra conversazione*, and perhaps had its own impact on the aging master in his *Virgin in Glory with Saints* for Santa Maria degli Angeli on Murano, although the dating of that work is controversial. See the arguments summarized in Anchise Tempestini, *Giovanni Bellini* (Florence: Cantini, 1992), 278–79, ultimately favoring a dating of about 1510. The main argument for an earlier dating appears to be that Bellini "must have" influenced Lotto's Asolo picture. On the Asolo altarpiece and its iconography, see E. M. dal Pozzolo, *Lorenzo Lotto ad Asolo. Una pala e i suoi segreti* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1995); Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 20, is among those who identify the work as an Assumption, largely, it seems, on the basis of the work's later removal to the cathedral of Asolo, dedicated to Santa Maria Assunta.

93. For a summary of the problems identifying the original patrons and location, in the absence of extant documentation, see the essay by Mauro Minardi in *Lotto nelle Marche*, ed. Vittoria Garibaldi and Giovanni C. F. Villa (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 46–71.

94. Lotto's fresco *St. Vincent Ferrer* in Recanati has been taken as an instance of his response to the *Disputà* in the Stanza della Segnatura, and as the basis for a dating of 1514–15. Nesselrath, "Il periodo romano del Lotto," 33, argues for an earlier dating, about 1510, and—intriguingly—proposes that the "Rapahelesque" pointing gesture might actually be a response to Leonardo's *Last Supper* in Milan. I am again unconvinced by Nesselrath's attempt to link the manner of the *Transfiguration* with the extravagantly proto-mannerist idiom of the vault of the Stanza dell'Eliodoro; this is precisely the kind of *maniera* finesse that Lotto rejects.

95. The role of inscriptions in Lotto's painting has received little attention; see, for a rare instance, Maurice Brock, "La *Suzanne* de Lorenzo Lotto ou comment faire l'histoire," in *Symboles de la Renaissance* (Paris: PENS, 1990), 3:35–65.

96. For analysis of the documents for the commission to Signorelli and Lotto, see Louisa C. Matthew, "New Evidence for Lotto's Career in Jesi," *Burlington Magazine* 1026 (September 1988): 693–97.

97. David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 89.

98. See the analysis of Raphael's Perugia altarpiece in Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 113–35.

99. Stephen J. Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible: Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, 1520–1540," in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 291–328.

100. First noted by Matthew, *Lorenzo Lotto and the Patronage and Production of Venetian Altarpieces in the Early Sixteenth Century*, 291–92, 308–9n2.

101. As was noted by Cardinal Federico Borromeo himself, in a pastoral visit to Varese of 1612. Luigi Zanzi, Sacri monti e *dintorni. Studi sulla cultura religiosa e artistica della Controriforma* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2005), 208. On the *fortuna* of the Titian *Annunciation*, addressing its impact on Sicilian polychrome sculpture but not noting the Varese derivation, see Valentina Frascarolo and Emanuele Pellegrini, "L'ombra di

Tiziano. *L'Annunciazione* che visse più volte," *Studiolo* 10 (2013), 93–109. On the dating of Lotto's Recanati *Annunciation*, see the entry by Peter Humfrey, "The Later Works in Venice and the Marches," in *Lorenzo Lotto: Rediscovered Master of the Renaissance*, ed. David Alan Brown, Peter Humfrey, and Mauro Lucco, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 191–93.

102. On Antonio da Faenza and his relationship to Lotto, see Del Poggetto and Zampetti, *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche. Il suo tempo, il suo influsso*, 243–47.

103. On the 1544 *Madonna de Loreto* with Sts. Christopher and Sebastian (lost), see De Carolis, *Lorenzo Lotto. Il Libro di spese diverse*, 214 (fol. 78v), 363, and for the 1550 series of small panels, 120 (fol. 5v), 312.

104. Cracco, "Alle origini dei santuari mariani," 159–60. Referring to the Anconitan cult of St. Maria Incoronata, Renzulli, "Tales of Flying Shrines and Paved Roads," 9–40, remarks: "Loreto's growing importance as a pilgrimage destination had developed so much that its economic potentialities had become a threat to Ancona in its struggle to maintain a pivotal role in the Adriatic, reasserting the ancient medieval rivalry between the smaller ports of the central Adriatic and Ancona, the only port of the Adriatic to try to challenge Venetian hegemony over the so called 'Venetian Gulf.'"

105. Antonio Leoni, *Ancona illustrata*, 2 vols. (Ancona: Bolaffi, 1832), 1:193. In the late nineteenth century local historians still deplored the loss of the church "da cui non rimane memoria che la venerate immagine collocate in una celletta appositamente costrutta nel nuovo tempio." Francesco de Bosis, Carisio Ciavarini et al., *Ancona descritta nella storia e nei monumenti* (Ancona: Cherubini, 1870), 208–9.

106. See the essay by Costanza Costanzi in *Lotto nelle Marche*, 166–171. On the patron Simone de Giovannino Pizoni and the documents for the commission, see Raffaella Micaletti, "Il contratto per la pala di Lorenzo Lotto in Sant'Agostino ad Ancona," *Venezia Cinquecento* (1991): 133–136. See also Michele Polverari, "Aspetti della vicenda Anconitana di Lorenzo Lotto," in *Lorenzo Lotto e le Marche*, ed. Garibaldi and Villa, 306–11.

107. The events are described in Enea Costantini, *Il Cardinal di Ravenna al Governo d'Ancona e il suo processo sotto Paolo III* (Pesaro, 1891); on the display of the bodies at Santa Maria Incoronata, see 158–160.

108. Compare the devotional panel *St. Lucy with Six Scenes from Her Martyrdom* now in Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, painted by Quirizio da Murano, an associate of the Vivarini, about 1470, probably for the female religious depicted as donor.

109. For a narratological analysis of the altarpiece, see Giuseppe Capriotti, "Tempo e spazio nel sistema narrative della Pala di Sant Lucia di Lorenzo Lotto," in *Lorenzo Lotto e le Marche*, ed. Zampetti and Sgarbi, 86–99.

110. Flavio Biondo, *Italy Illuminated,* trans. Jeffrey A. White (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 263, 265 (III.5.17).

111. Documentation regarding the original commissioning of the *St. Sebastian*, *St. Christopher*, *and St. Roch*, first recorded in the basilica in 1583, does not survive: Matthew, *Lorenzo Lotto and the Patronage and Production of Venetian Altarpieces in the Early Sixteenth Century*, 290, speculates that it was undertaken for a confraternity "del SS. Corpo di Cristo" either during or immediately after their foundation of a hospital for pilgrims in 1535, "an institution that had been conceived as a joint undertaking by the administration of the Santa Casa, the communities of Loreto and Recanati, and the Confraternity." Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 124, favored an earlier dating of about 1534. A document of 1542 refers to an altar dedicated to St. Christopher with a benefice dedicated to Sebastian. Lotto's *Libro di spese diverse* (De Carolis, *Lorenzo Lotto. Il Libro di spese diverse,* 214, fol. 78v) shows that by 1544, when he executed a painting "de la Madonna di Loreto con un San Sebastiano e un San Rocco" for the friars of Santa Maria Maddalena at Treviso, the two saints formed part of a Loretan iconography. In 1550 (5v) the *Libro* records a transaction in Ancona with a client from Bergamo for the production of a series of ten panels with a St. Christopher and "nove pezi piccolj con le istorie de la Madonna de Loretto del venir di quella casa in quell loco." Frappicini, "Lorenzo Lotto sulla via di Loreto," 31–38, discusses the Loreto altarpiece as a response to reformers who attacked the cults of St. Christopher and the Santa Casa.

112. A panel showing her martyrdom is exhibited with the predella in the museum at Jesi; it appears not to be by Lotto, however, but a pastiche added when the predella was detached from the altarpiece. See the

discussion in Del Poggetto and Zampetti, eds., *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche*, 128.

113. For a discussion of Bonafede and the commission, see Louisa C. Matthew, "*Patria*, Papal Service and Patronage: Nicola Bonafede at Monte San Giusto in the Marches," *Renaissance Studies* 7 (1993): 184–206.

114. It is in this respect noteworthy that Bonafede employed Amico Aspertini to decorate his palace in Monte San Giusto; see Del Poggetto and Zampetti, eds., *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche*, 235–37.

115. On the use of the Bergamo relief as a model, see Del Poggetto and Zampetti, eds., *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche*, 112.

116. The portrait of the donor was completed by Lotto *in situ* at Monte San Giusto after the work had been shipped from Venice. See Mozzoni and Paoletti, eds., *Lorenzo Lotto, ". . . mi è forza andar,"* 100–109.

117. Appadurai, "Disjunction and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy."

118. Italian text of the letter in Pietro Aretino, *Lettere*, 2 vols. (1957), 2:218–19; translation quoted here from Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 156–58.

119. Noted by Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 156. See Paolo Pino, *Dialogo di pittura di Messer Paolo Pino nuovamente dato in luce* (Venice: Pauolo Gherardo, 1548), fol. 24. For artists working in Venice and the Veneto, Pino's list included Savoldo, Domenico Campagnola, Paris Bordone, Tintoretto, Pordenone, Bonifacio Veronese, Giovan Pietro Silvio, Pomponio Amalteo, Francesco Menzocchi, and Camillo Mantovano. Pino's complete list includes Perugino, Giotto, Raphael, Leonardo, Mantegna, Bellini, Dürer, Giorgione, Bergognone, Palma il Vecchio, Pordenone, Sebastiano del Piombo, Perino del Vaga, Parmigianino, Andrea del Sarto, Pontormo, Bronzino, Vasari, Sodoma, and Giulio Clovio. Titian and Michelangelo as "leaders of painting" exist in a godlike domain beyond the list.

120. "[S]e Tiziano e Michiel Angelo fussero un corpo solo, over al disegno di Michiel Angelo aggiontovi il colore di Tiziano, se gli potrebbe dir lo dio della pittura, sì come parimenti dono anco dèi propri, e chi tiene altra openione è eretico fetidissimo." Pino, *Dialogo di pittura*, fol. 127. See Michel Hochmann, *Venise et Rome, 1500–1600. Deux écoles de peinture et leurs échanges* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), 59.

121. The altarpiece is usually described as archaizing because of its hierarchical structure dominated by an enthroned saint, but there is no precedent for the vigorous almsgiving activity in the lower tier except—as Frapiccini, "Lorenzo Lotto sulla via di Loreto," 34, has suggested—the Roman relief of the Liberalitas of Marcus Aurelius on the Arch of Constantine. This would be a thematically ingenious appropriation by Lotto, and characteristic of his tendency to draw on remote rather than proximate visual sources.

122. On topographical references in Anconitan altarpieces, see Morten Steen Hansen, "Immigrants and Church Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Ancona," in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance* City, ed. Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 327–54.

123. Frapiccini, "Lorenzo Lotto e gli strumenti," 261, judiciously notes that "sul piano linguistico la differenza tra gli esempi di Tiziano e di Lotto risulta abissale."

124. The work appears to have been known to Cola dell'Amatrice, who drew on it for his 1515 *Assumption* (Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina).

125. Frank Zöllner, "'Ogni pittore dipinge sè': Leonardo da Vinci and 'Automimesis,'" in *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk*, ed. Matthias Winner (Weinheim: VCH, 1992), 137–60.

126. See the important discussion of *ornato*, discussed as an alternative to modern (post-Vasarian) stylistic categories in Helmut Wohl, *The Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art: A Reconsideration of Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54–75.

127. The passage from Varchi's 1547 *Due lezioni* is discussed in Wohl, *Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art*, 66–67.

128. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*, 202.

129. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*, 204.

130. For a more sustained claim about carpets as compositional models, see Kim, "Lotto's Carpets."

131. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Bergamo, private collection.

132. On the six workshop versions of the Bergamo *Virgin and Child with St. Catherine* and other paintings based on the Virgin with the sleeping child, see Humfrey, "The Later Works in Venice and the Marches," 182. He also lists (in addition to the canvas discussed here) versions—not all of them autograph—

in St. Petersburg, Hermitage; Houston, Museum of Fine Arts; Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi; Bratislava; and two additional private collections. See also the recent discussion by Giovanni Valagusa, *Lorenzo Lotto* (Rome: Electa, 2011), 190.

133. Especially for an artist with devotional preoccupations of his own, it was undoubtedly significant that in one version of the legend Catherine chooses her spouse when a holy hermit shows her a painting of the Virgin with the Christ Child—effectively bringing about her conversion by means of an image. See Gentili, *I giardini di contemplazione. Lorenzo Lotto, 1503–1512* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1985), 133–36, citing the late fourteenth-century *Catalogus sanctorum* of Petrus de Natalibus, first printed in 1493.

134. On Lotto's importance in the promotion of St. Joseph, see Carolyn Wilson, "Lorenzo Lotto and the Pictorial Crafting of St. Joseph as a Figure of Cult," in *Lorenzo Lotto e le Marche,* ed. Zampetti and Sgarbi, 122–48.

135. Erin Stacey Kaplan, "Marriage, Motherhood and St. Catherine of Alexandria: Painting Domestic Values in the Veneto" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2003), points to the extraordinary concentration of the mystic marriage in the Veneto during the sixteenth century, connecting the popularity of the subject with the regulation of female conduct. Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 17, observes that "as the number of images of Joseph as tender, nurturing father increased, depictions of the Madonna in her maternal mode decreased, replaced by images of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. Indeed, seventeenth-century Spanish and Mexican devotees claimed that St. Joseph was more important than his holy wife."

136. For a discussion of these themes in the work of Domenico Cavalca (c. 1270–1342), a friar of the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina in Pisa whose devotional works were printed in Venice in the 1490s and 1500s, see Carla Casagrande, "'Motions of the Heart' and Sins: The *Specchio de' peccati* by Domenico Cavalca, OP," in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Toronto: PIMS, 2005), 128–44. Cavalca's *Specchio* was an important source for St. Catherine of Siena's spiritual writings, including the "Treatise on Tears."

137. "Beato colui che [. . .]sta in solitudine et non ondeggia in moltitudine d'opere, ma tutte l'operationi corporali converte in exercitio d'oratione, et crede sé con Dio tutto 'l tempo che gli adopera." Isaac de Syria, *De la perfectione de la vita contemplativa* (Venice, 1500), quoted in Gentili, *I giardini di contemplazione*, 230.

138. Although, as Michael Cole points out, sculpture more readily demonstrates a preoccupation with force and constraint, especially in Florence from midcentury with the work of Cellini and then Giambologna. Cole, *Ambitious Form: Gianbologna, Ammanati, and Danti in Florence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 44–50.

139. Rebecca Zorach, *The Passionate Triangle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 88.

140. On Lotto's portraiture, see Wendy S. Sheard, "The Portraits," in *Lorenzo Lotto: Rediscovered Master of the Renaissance*, ed. Brown, Humfrey, and Lucco, 43–53; and Elsa Dezuanni, "Lorenzo Lotto. Sentimento e modernità," in *Lorenzo Lotto*, ed. Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2011), 195–249.

141. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (Baltimore: Penguin, 1967), 334.

142. Rona Goffen, "Lotto's *Lucretia*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52 (1999): 742–81, notes this, although she overemphasizes what she sees as the "masculinity" of the sitter's pose.

143. Pietro Bembo, *Gli Asolani. Rime* (Turin: Einaudi, 1966), 167: "O Lavinello, Lavinello, non sei tu quello che cotesta forma ti dimostra, né sono gli altri uomini ciò che di fuori appare di loro altresì. Ma è l'animo di ciascuno quello che egli è, e non la figura, che col dito si può mostrare."

144. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* (Milan, 1584), 6:2, p. 246.

145. Francesco Sesalli, *Breve descrittione del Sacro Monte di Varallo di Valsesia* (Novara, 1566), 4r, praises paintings and sculptures "fatte a un M. Gaudentio di quella patria, homo veramente molto Eccellente cosi nel depingere come nella scultura, sono tanto naturali come se la Natura istessa, e non l'arte l'havesse formate."

146. Translation from Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, 88.

147. "questo Gaudentio fu di spiritoso ingegno, et di maniera gagliarda." Zuccari, *Il passaggio per Italia*, 8.

148. Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti,* 2:289; Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, 88.

149. Villata, "Gaudenzio Ferrari. Gli anni di apprendistato," 75, dates the wooden group of the Last Supper, now in Chapel 20, to 1501–4.

150. For Testori, Gaudenzio's distance from the art of the major centers was the basis for a near-mystical valorization of his authenticity, grounded in the rural locality and its *parlata*, or dialect, mountain air, and honest poverty. In the Varallo *Annunciation* the viewer sees "come questo Angelo e questa Vergine tengano e come tengano proprio in quanto esprimano l'assoluto di un altra verita: la verita, appunto, del paese." Testori, *Elogio dell'arte Novaresi* (Novara: Banca popolare di Novara, 1962), 21. In *Gaudenzio alle porte di Varallo*, concerning the local chapel of the Madonna of Loreto, Testori portrays Gaudenzio as working in a local and rural anti-Bramantesque and even anti-Renaissance architectural idiom.

151. "È qui che la 'specie' della tradizione novarese trova il suo genio e il suo culmine; rivelandosi e, nello stesso tempo, sprofondandosi. E la profondità sono quelle dei legami d'amore e di sangue; quelli degli affetti e del cuore." *Elogio dell'arte novaresi*, 24–25.

152. Pier Giorgio Longo, "L'eco di un grido. Il contesto religioso e devozionale della cappella della Crocifissione," in *Gaudenzio Ferrari: La Crocifissione*, ed. de Filippis, 57–63, at 62.

153. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*, 266.

154. Pier Giorgio Longo, "'*Hi loco visitando.*' Temi e forme del pellegrinaggio ai misteri del Monte de Varalle nella guida del 1514," in *Questi sono li Misteri che sono sopra el Monte de Varalle*, ed. Stefania Stefani Perrone (Borgosesia: Società per la conservazione delle opere d'arte e dei monumenti in Valsesia, 1987), 109–20.

155. The latter hypothesis is proposed by Alessandro Nova, "I tramezzi in Lombardia tra XV e XVI secolo. Scene della passione e devozione francescana," in *Il Francescanesimo in Lombardia*, ed. Arnalda Dallaj (Milan: Silvana, 1983), 196–215.

156. Later cycles include Fermo Stella's frescoes at San Bernardino in Caravaggio (1531) and Bernardino Luini's at Santa Maria degli Angioli in Lugano (1529).

157. While elaborate architectural settings were also to be found at Ivrea—and presumably also at Pavia and Sant'Angelo in Milan (they are considerably deemphasized at Bellinzona), Spanzotti's monochrome structures do not call attention to themselves in their spatial complexity and ornamental elaboration in the way that Gaudenzio's do.

158. In *Christ before Pilate* the portal with the inscription "palacium pilati" is surmounted by a free reconstruction of the Laocoön, probably based on a written description rather than on knowledge of the original. As suggested by Ethel Halsey, *Gaudenzio Ferrari* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1904), 51.

159. While it might be said that the imperative to compose in a vertical rather than a horizontal field might have had some bearing on the choice of models, Gaudenzio's far more Leonardesque treatment of the *Last Supper* for Santa Maria della Passione in Milan (1541–42) shows that a vertical format presented no necessary obstacle to imitating the fresco at Santa Maria delle Grazie. Edoardo Villata, "Gaudenzio di fronte a Leonardo. Inclinazioni e resistenze verso il Cenacolo tra Piemonte e Lombardia," in *II Genio e le Passioni. Leonardo e il Cenacolo. Precedenti, innovazioni, riflessi di un capolavoro*, ed. Pietro C. Marani (Milan, 2001), 155–64, at 158, accounts for the aversion to Leonardo with the suggestion that the collapse of the Sforza regime motivated Lombard artists to reexamine the indigenous tradition and to turn toward "mother Rome," in accordance with the conjecture (unsustainable on the basis of the surviving work) that the artist, like Bramantino, spent time in Rome at some point early in the century.

160. Sforza Hours, London, British Library, Add. MS 34294.

161. Edoardo Villata, "Gaudenzio Ferrari e la *Spogliazione delle vesti* al Sacro Monte di Varallo," *Arte Lombarda* 145 (2005): 76–92; on the borrowings from Leonardo see also *Il Rinascimento di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, 144–55. On Leonardo motifs in the tramezzo see Alberto Cottino, "La modernità di Gaudenzio. Il linguaggio narrativo figurativo," in *La Parete Gaudenziana di Santa Maria delle Grazie di Varallo* (Novara: De Agostini, 2015), 62–74.

162. On the commission, see Bram de Klerck, "Gaudenzio Ferrari e la confraternità di Sant'Anna a Vercelli," *Paragone* 53 (2002): 3–24; for an unspecific observation concerning resonances of "Leonardo, Filippino Lippi, Perugino, and Luca Signorelli," see Massimiliano Caldara, "Gaudenzio Ferrari fino al

1528," in *Fermo Stella e Sperindio Cagnoli seguaci di Gaudenzio Ferrari. Una bottega d'arte nel Cinquecento padano*, ed. Giovanni Romano (Milan: Silvana, 2006), 23; see also the same author's entry on another panel from the altarpiece, 76–77.

163. "Leonardesque" effects can be found in Gaudenzio's altarpiece known as the *Madonna degli Aranci* (c. 1530) in Vercelli, San Cristoforo, but the intense orange and greens and the composition have little to do with Leonardo.

164. The connection with Perugino emerged from the index of Lomazzo's *Trattato*, where the heading for Perugino reads, "Pietro Perugino, degno pittore, maestro di Raffaello e Gaudenzio." Anna Maria Brizio, "L'arte di Gaudenzio," in *Mostra di Gaudenzio Ferrari* (Milan: Silvana, 1956), 3–4; see also 93 for Brizio's rejection, seconded by Giovanni Testori, of the version of the Perugino *Lamentation* in Vercelli, Museo Borgogna. Federico Zuccaro, in his *Il passaggio per Italia,* 8, reported that "Gaudentio di Ferrari Milanese . . . fu discepolo già di Rafaello di Urbino." One wonders if Perugino's trans-peninsular activity might have enhanced his appeal for Gaudenzio. By 1510 Perugino had sent works to places as far afield as Naples, Cremona, Pavia, sites in Umbria and the Marches, and possibly Venice.

165. Caldara, "Gaudenzio Ferrari fino al 1528," 24 and 111. Gaudenzio also goes by this name in the contract for the 1508 Vercelli commission: "Magister Gaudentius de Vincio de Varali pinctor." On the Arona altarpiece see *Il Rinascimento di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, 161–70.

166. The cycle was commissioned by Giovanni Angelo Corradi, who is portrayed along with several members of his family. Vittorio Natale, ed., Arti figurative a Vercelli. San Cristoforo (Milan: Eventi e progetti editore, 2009), 22–35; *Il Rinascimento di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, 376-402.

167. Martin Kemp, "Leonardo and the Idea of Naturalism: Leonardo's Hypernaturalism," in *Painters of Reality: The Legacy of Leonardo and Caravaggio in Lombardy,* ed. Andrea Bayer, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 65–73.

168. Claire J. Farago, "Aesthetics before Art: Leonardo through the Looking Glass," in *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art In and Out of History,* ed. Claire J. Farago and Robert Zwijnenberg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 45–93, 76; and Carlo Pedretti, "Pittura come regia," in *Leonardo. Il Cenacolo,* Art Dossier 146 (Florence: Giunti, 1999), 16.

169. For a recent discussion, see the entry by Luke Syson in the catalogue *Leonardo da Vinci: Painter at the Court of Milan* (London: National Gallery, 2011), 168. For the pre-Leonardo tradition of combining painted panels with polychrome sculpture in an altarpiece, see Iris Wenderholm, *Bild und Berührung. Skulptur und Malerei auf dem Altar der italienischen Frührenaissance* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006).

170. Claire J. Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's "Paragone": A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the "Codex Urbinas"* (Leiden: Brill, 1992). For a useful summary of the so-called paragone debates, see Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 31–67; for a cautionary perspective on the use of the term paragone before Benedetto Varchi's midcentury *lezioni,* see Charles Dempsey, "Disegno and Logos, Paragone and Academy," in *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590–1635,* ed. Peter M. Lukehart (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 43–53.

171. Martin Kemp, *Leonardo on Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 57.

172. Kemp, *Leonardo on Painting,* 44.

173. To paraphrase the title of the classic essay by Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," *October* 8 (1979): 30–44.

174. Samuel Butler, *Ex Voto: An Account of the Sacro Monte or New Jerusalem at Varallo-Sesia* (London: Trübner & Co., 1888).

175. The practice of writing on any part of the chapel (including the exterior walls or the grilles) was expressly forbidden in a 1594 decree of the bishop of Novara, on pain of interdict and a fine. Guido Gentile, "Sulle trace degli antichi visitatori. Percorsi e graffiti," in *Gaudenzio Ferrari: La Crocifissione*, ed. de Filippis, 65–73, at 73.

176. Ryan Gregg, "The Sacro Monte of Varallo as a Physical Manifestation of the Spiritual Exercises," *Athanor* 22 (2004): 49–55.

177. See especially Sacchi, "Chi non ha veduto quel sepolcro, non può dir di sapere che cosa sia pittura," 21–34.

178. In fact, there is a long tradition that the figure of the crucified Christ is not by Gaudenzio. Even if that is the case, it does not affect the argument here, which rests on Gaudenzio's calculated distinction between the effects in the chapel of painting and sculpture.

179. On the cult at Saronno, see Danilo Zardin, "Fioritura e metamorfosi di un centro di devozione," in *Il Santuario della Beata Vergine dei Miracoli di Saronno*, ed. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer (Milan: ISAL, Istituto per la storia dell'arte lombarda, 1996), 69–113. On the production of painting and sculpture for the sanctuary, see, in the same volume, the contributions of Pietro C. Marani, 137–95, and Marco Rossi, 195–235. See also Luigi Lazzaroni Andina, Ivano Fusetti, and Alfredo Fusetti, eds., *Gaudenzio Ferrari e la cupola del Santuario di Saronno. Il concerto degli angeli* (Milan: Cinsello Balsamo, 2008).

180. Originally there were additional tableaux of the Crucifixion and of Christ in Limbo. Sandrina Bandera, *Agostino de' Fondulis e la riscoperta della terracotta nel Rinascimento* (Bergamo: Bolis, 1997). Other painter-sculptors in the region, like Gaudenzio's contemporary Ambrogio Bellazzi, produced sculptures that were less discongruent from their paintings and even "painterly" in character. On Bellazzi's ensemble for the portal of the cathedral of Aosta (1526–34), see Stefano de Bosio, "Per Ambrogio Bellazzi da Vigevano," *Nuovi studi* 16 (2011), 33–60.

181. As noted by Göttler in her analysis of Lomazzo's writing on Gaudenzio, "The Temptation of the Senses at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," 417–26.

182. Leslie Korrick, "Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* and Galilei's *Fronimo*: Sounding Images and Picturing Music in 1584," in *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Katherine A. McIver (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 170–89. Also on these passages in Lomazzo, see Michael Cole, "Discernment and Animation: Leonardo to Lomazzo," in *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Walter S. Melion and Reindert Falkenburg (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 133–42.

183. Marco Rossi, "Fra decorazione e teatralità. Andrea da Milano, Gaudenzio Ferrari e dintorni," In *Il Santuario della Beata Vergine dei Miracoli di Saronno*, ed. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer (Milan: ISAL, Istituto per la storia dell'arte lombarda, 1996), 227.

184. "[F]urore et a sdegno, incitate a gl'amori, all'armi, all'onorate imprese et a cotali altri affeti." Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti,* 2:96.

185. "il volto della Capella della Santa Corona nelle Grazie di Milano, dove si veggono angeli veramente in tutte le parti, e principalmente ne i *moti*, eccellenti, e la grandissima cuba di S. Maria di Serono, ripiena tutta di troni d'angeli, con *moti* et abiti di tutte le maniere che si possono imaginare e co' piu strani istromenti di musica in mano del mondo." Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti,* 2:101.

186. Gaudenzio painted an altarpiece of the Pentecost, now lost but recorded in an engraving; a *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, of which the Budapest *Pietà* might constitute the *cimasa*; and yet another ill-fated altarpiece for the Confraternity of the Body of Christ. On Gaudenzio and the Sforza, see Rossana Sacchi, *Il disegno incompiuto. La politica artistica di Francesco II Sforza e di Massimiliano Stampa* (Milan: LED edizioni universitarie, 2005), 200–209.

187. On Ferrari in Milan, see Rossana Sacchi, *Gaudenzio a Milano* (Milan: Officina, 2015), especially 26–67; and Andrea di Lorenzo, "Gaudenzio Ferrari e la sua scuola a Milano," in *Pittura a Milano. Rinascimento e Manierismo*, ed. Mina Gregori (Milan, 1998), 36–44.

188. Sacchi, *Il disegno incompiuto*, 508, on the portrait by Sofonisba Anguissola of the young nephew of Massimiliano Stampa (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum), and another of Giacomo Maria Stampa in the same collection. "Ai nuovi valori si improntera, sia pure secondo una diversa modulazione linguistica che darà corpo alia componente aulica, il busto ritratto di Giacomo Maria Stampa datato 1558, recentemente riconosciuto alia Walters Art Gallery di Baltimora."

189. Sacchi, *Gaudenzio a Milano*, 61.

190. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana,* vol. 9, *La pittura del Cinquecento,* part 1 (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1925), 867.

191. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500–1600*, 268.

192. Brizio, *Mostra di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, 103, cat. 31.

193. Versions exist in St. Petersburg, Hermitage; Milan, Brera; Pavia, Malaspina; Berlin, Gemäldegalerie; Naples, Capodimonte; and Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; as well as Busto Arsizio, private collection. For the St. Petersburg example, see Kustodieva and Zatti, eds., *Leonardeschi*, 46.

194. There is some evidence of his painting a *Rape of Persephone* for the Sforza, which was sent to France, and a picture of a "woman clutching her hair"—possibly a Magdalene—in the collections of Rudolph II; Sacchi, *Gaudenzio a Milano*, 66. On Titian's *Penitent Magdalene*, see Una Roman d'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 84–106.

195. Vasari/Milanesi, 2:476. On the idea of a competition between Gaudenzio and Titian around the Corona commission, see Valeska von Rosen, *Mimesis und Selbstbezüglichkeit in Werken Tizians: Studien zum venezianischen Malereidiskurs* (Berlin: Imorde, 2001), 218–30.

196. Vasari/Milanesi, 6:518–19. "Gaudenzio pittor milanese, il quale mentre visse si tenne valentuomo, dipinse in San Celso la tavola dell'altar maggiore, et a fresco, in Santa Maria delle Grazie in una capella, la Passione di Gesù Cristo in figure quanto il vivo, con strane attitudini, e dopo fece sotto questa capella una tavola a concorrenza di Tiziano, nella quale, ancor che egli molto si persuadesse, non passò l'opere degl'altri che avevano in quel luogo lavorato."

197. The contract specifies "una tavola, overo ancona dipinta di una optime effige di San Paulo, overo di una statua di marmore che sia artifitiosa et laudabile." Sacchi, *Gaudenzio a Milano*, 75, comments on the unusual iconography but points to a possible precedent in the Pavian Pier Francesco Sacchi's painting from about 1520, now in London, National Gallery. See also *Il Rinascimento di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, 516–20.

198. I proposed this in Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara*, 80–82; see also the remarks of Carmen Bambach in *Leonardo da Vinci: Master Draftsman*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 376–77; and of Luke Syson in *Leonardo da Vinci: Painter at the Court of Milan*, 135–37. On the della Croce commission see *Il Rinascimento di Gaudenzio Ferrari*, 521–24.

199. In his *St. Jerome* of 1523–25, Bernardino Luini may also have been responding to Leonardo's panel, but his treatment of the saint's pose and anatomy tends far more toward simplification and pious decorum than does Gaudenzio's. Luini uses drapery to conceal the weight-bearing leg, which Leonardo and Gaudenzio treated as the pivot or axis of a dynamically active figure; he has shown the raised leg in profile rather than in dynamic foreshortening and shown far less attention to the tautly stretched skin of the saint's naked torso. On Luini's *St. Jerome*, see the entry by Claudio Gulli in *Bernardino Luini e i suoi figli*, ed. Giovanni Agosti and Jacopo Stoppa, exh. cat. (Milan: Officina Libraria, 2014), 242–44.

200. As reported by Giovanni Baglione, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti* (Rome, 1642); see the text of Baglione in Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 353.

Chapter 5

1. Roberto Longhi, "Caravaggio and His Forerunners," 131.

2. For Lotto's awareness of Gaudenzio, see Brizio, "Il Sacro Monte di Varallo. Gaudenzio e Lotto," 35–42; also Bosco, *Gli affreschi dell'Oratorio Suardi. Lorenzo Lotto nella crisi della Riforma,* 46–53.

3. Lotto, of course, may have known of painted precedents where multiple episodes of a sacred narrative are "followed" by a viewer through several architectural spaces. An example is Hans Memling's *Scenes of the Passion of Christ* (then in the Portinari Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence; now Turin, Galleria Sabauda).

4. On *figura*, see the classic account in Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 11–79.

5. *Freedberg, Painting in Italy, 1500–1600,* 203.

6. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 9, pt. 4, 312–17, considered Garofalo's fresco to be "lontana della modernità, congegnata su schemi medievali fuor d'ogni spirito d'arte." On the Ferrara allegory, see Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible: Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, 1520–1540," in *Judaism and Christian Art*, ed. Kessler and Nirenberg, 291–327, especially 291–95.

7. Vasari/Milanesi, 5:143: "Pulidoro da Caravaggio e Maturino Fiorentino, pittori: Fecero su la piazza di Capranica per andare in Colonna, una facciata con le Virtú teologiche et un fregio sotto le finestre, con bellissima invenzione, una Roma vestita e per la fede figurata, col calice e con l'ostia in mano, aver prigione tutte le nazioni del mondo, e concorrere tutti i popoli a portarle i tributi, et i Turchi a l'ultima fine distrutti, saettare l'arca di Macometto, conchiudendosi finalmente col detto della Scrittura, che sarà uno ovile et

un pastore." The composition is partly recorded in an anonymous drawing preserved in Rome, Gabinetto nazionale dei disegni e delle stampe, inv. F. N. 2960. Girolamo da Carpi also copied several figures. Gudrun Dauner, *Drawn Together: Two Albums of Renaissance Drawings by Girolamo da Carpi* (Philadelphia: Rosenbach Museum & Library, 2005), 14–15.

8. On the development of the extraliturgical Eucharistic devotions among the laity, see N. Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist outside Mass* (Collegeville, MN: Pueblo, 1982), especially 163–84.

9. Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

10. Such beliefs and practices are particularly well documented for southern Germany and Switzerland during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The definitive study is Peter Browe, "Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 20 (1930): 134–54; also in Browe, *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter: Liturgiehistorische Forschungen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2009), 219–33. See also Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 334–42; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 2011), 139–71; and Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory, and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria*, 144–45.

11. Instances cited in Browe, *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter*; he notes (229) that women were most under suspicion for the practice of stealing Hosts from church in their mouths, and there was a prevailing anxiety about women taking communion several times per day.

12. Tamar Herzig, "The Demons and the Friars: Illicit Magic and Mendicant Rivalry in Renaissance Bologna," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011): 1025–58, at 1052.

13. Charles Zika, "Hosts, Processions, and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth Century Germany," in *Exorcizing Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 155–97. Zika examines how the emerging centrality of the Host as the central object of lay devotion, as opposed to relics, is a management strategy by the clergy (157): "a site for the resolution of conflicting views as to what constitutes legitimate religious behavior and a point of negotiation and power in the constant reformulation of religious orthodoxy and control."

14. See the study of Lotto's life of the Virgin (in the light of Observant preoccupations with the Immaculate Conception) by Costanza Barbieri, *Specchio di virtù. Il consorzio della Vergine e gli affreschi di Lorenzo Lotto in San Michele al Pozzo Bianco* (Bergamo: Lubrina editore, 2000).

15. On the processions in Bergamo, recorded in the *Memoriale* of Marco Beretta, see Bosco, *Gli affreschi dell'Oratorio Suardi,* 11–12.

16. The seventeenth-century biographers of Kramer assert that the events discussed in Venice happened on the mainland near Padua. However, Zika, *Exorcizing Our Demons*, 160, reads Kramer's own account as referring to Batavia (Passau) in southeastern Germany, rather than Patavia (Padua).

17. Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 224, 226.

18. Zika, *Exorcizing Our Demons*, 160, remarks that the episode "points to the dangerous implications some fifteenth century theologians discerned in the close relationship between cults involving transformed hosts and the laity's belief in the sacramental presence as such."

19. On the treatise, see the introduction by John Patrick Donnelly to his edition with translation of Contarini's treatise: *The Office of a Bishop (De officio viri boni et probi episcopi)* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2002).

20. Contarini, *The Office of a Bishop*, 77.

21. Contarini, *The Office of a Bishop*, 99.

22. On Giberti's censure of the cult of the saints at the expense of the Eucharist, see Adriano Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma. Giovanni Matteo Giberti (1495–1543)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969), 270.

23. Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma*, 129.

24. Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma*, 131. On Contarini's thought and the theme of mystical "membership" in the body of Christ, as well his

meditations on the wounds of Christ in a 1511 letter to Paolo Giustiniani, see Stephen D. Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 91–94.

25. Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma*, 129.

26. Some Lotto scholars have cited other works by Contarini. See, for instance, Maria Calì, "La 'religione' di Lorenzo Lotto," in *Lorenzo Lotto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi per il V centenario della nascita, Asolo, 18–21 settembre* 1980, ed. Zampetti and Sgarbi, 243–77, at 246.

27. Song of Solomon 2:15: "capite nobis vulpes vulpes parvulas quae demoliuntur vineas nam vinea nostra floruit." For the antiheretical interpretation, see Bosco, *Gli affreschi dell'Oratorio Suardi*, 65–74.

28. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 169, analyzes the late medieval understanding of the "exsanguination" of Christ—the flow of blood and water from his side at the moment of being stabbed by the spear of Longinus—as miraculous, since in its eternal freshness it abolishes temporal distance: "*sanguis Christi* not only remains alive and fresh at the moment of the crucifixion; it is hot and liquid at the end of time, fusing past and future, death and resurrection, Christ here and Christ in glory."

29. Lotto may have known the woodcuts and signaled his acquaintance in his *Profession of St. Brigid* in the oratory, which has some elements in common with the Swiss woodcuts. On the pamphlet, see Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 174–75, with references to early sources.

30. On these local mystics, see Gabriella Zarri, *Le sante vive. Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra '400 e '500* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990). On Brocadelli and Andreasi, see Tamar Herzig, *Savonarola's Women: Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 97–127.

31. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 274–75.

32. Writing from Venice to the Consorzio della Misericordia in Bergamo in December 1528, Lotto recommended Moretto as an artist who could take over his uncompleted commission as designer of the intarsia panels for the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore; Moretto went to Bergamo in 1529. Barbieri, *Specchio di virtù*, 93–97, presents evidence of an artistic exchange between the two in 1524. Moretto's design for a woodcut showing the exaltation of the Oriflamme cross (a sacred object kept in the cathedral of Brescia), dated 1524, includes a group of female witnesses who closely resemble those in Lotto's fresco *The Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple*, completed in 1525, at San Michele al Pozzo Bianco in Bergamo. The figure of a young female attendant in Lotto's San Michele *Birth of the Virgin* has a close counterpart in Moretto's *Supper at Emmaus* (Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo) of around the same date. In addition, Moretto's 1543 Brera altarpiece, made for Gardone di Val Trompia, pays homage to the St. Bernardino altarpiece by Lotto in Bergamo.

33. On Eucharistic hermeneutics, see Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), especially 95–109; Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, especially 14–45, 208–55; also David Aers, "New Historicism and the Eucharist," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003): 241–59. On the Eucharist as representational model, see Regina Stefaniak, "Replicating Mysteries of the Passion: Rosso's *Dead Christ with Angels*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 677–738; Aden Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59–60 (2011): 179–91. For a theological and aesthetic perspective, see Hans-Georg Gadamer, *The Relevance of the Beautiful* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and Jean-Luc Marion, *God without Being*, trans. Thomas A. Carlson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 143–49.

34. Francesca Cortesi Bosco, *The Frescoes in the Oratorio Suardi at Trescore* (Milan: Skira, 1997), 12.

35. On which, see Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation*.

36. On the tradition of polemic against pilgrimage and the patristic authority behind it, see Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976), 123–46; Robert A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1990), 153–55; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 233–55.

37. See C. Varischi, *Sermoni del beato Bernardino da Feltre nella redazione di Fra Bernardino Bulgarino da Brescia*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1964), 2:485; referred to in Costanza Barbieri, "Un Lotto scomparso?" *Osservatorio delle arti* 3 (1989): 22–31. The Latin poem is a verse paraphrase of a sermon entitled *De lege et regulis vere peregrini* delivered in Bergamo in 1505 by Fra Giacomo Grumello de' Zanchi: *De lege et regulis vere peregrini ex predicatione sanctissima fratris Jacobi Zanchi: Quod vita nostra via sit, et quam caute in ea ambulandum*: "Vita via est finisque viae, bona summa vel ignes / Perpetui, hinc caute, carpe viator, iter. / Caute, inquam, nam arcta est; caute: est via lubrica; / Thesauros vitreis fictilibusque geris. / Sed caute incedes, levior si pondere rerum, / Si placidus, fidis si comitatus eas. / Et si, cuncta viae Edoctus discrimina, mundum / Occase, hospitium, denique sole petas / Id faciens, mundi superata et fraude latentis / Hostis, erunt finis tam? bona summa viae."

38. Bosco, *Gli affreschi del'Oratorio Suardi*, 124–28.

39. The scholarship is reviewed by Firpo, *Artisti, gioiellieri, eretici. Il mondo di Lorenzo Lotto tra Riforma e Controriforma,* who, while highly critical of arguments for Lotto's sectarian alignment with Protestantism, stresses the predicament of many devout Italians—including Contarini—whose zeal for reform led to positions later condemned as erroneous or heretical.

40. Jaś Elsner, "Image and Site: Castiglione Olona in the Early Fifteenth Century," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 57–58 (2010): 157–73 at 173.

41. Nova, *Girolamo Romanino*, 287–92; and the recent treatment by Vincenzo Gheroldi, "Una questione di geografia artistica, 1534–1541. Le vicinie di valle Camonica e la 'pratica' di Romanino," in *Romanino al tempo dei cantieri in valle Camonica*, ed. Vincenzo Gheroldi (Gianico: La Cittadina edizioni, 2015), 16–51, with other contributions on Pisogne (and Romanino's decorations at Breno and Bienno) in the same volume.

42. Franco Bontempi, *Storia di Pisogne, un grande mercato nelle Alpi* (Darfo Boario Terme: Tipografia lineagrafica, 1999).

43. On Pisogne and the Val Camonica witch trials of 1518, see Stephen D. Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City: Civic Identity in Renaissance Brescia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 183–91.

44. Romanino notably anticipated by some thirty years one of the key aspects of the Counter-Reformation censure of Michelangelo: naked gesturing figures are unseemly and incongruous in the pope's own chapel but belong to a place where decorum is more relaxed. On the frescoes at Trent, see Nova, *Girolamo Romanino*, 270–85; and *Romanino: Un pittore in rivolta nel Rinascimento Italiano*, ed. Lia Camerlengo, exh. cat. (Milan: Silovana, 2006), 221–70, 362–68. On a poem describing the palace and its decorations by Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501–1578) and inferences about the problem of decorum in the frescoes, see Thomas Frangenberg, "Decorum in the Magno Palazzo in Trent," *Renaissance Studies* 7 (1993): 352–377.

45. Nicholas Penny, entry, in *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings*, vol. 1, *Paintings from Bergamo, Brescia, and Cremona* (London: National Gallery Company, 2004), 182–89.

46. Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 47. On Marschalk, see in addition Pia F. Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity, ca. 1475–1536* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 142–43.

47. See Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 87–89, 103–5. The standard study is that of Ephrem Longpré, "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de Jésus," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 28 (1935): 443–76; 29 (1936): 14–68, 443–77; 30 (1937): 170–85. see also Agostino Montanaro, *II culto al SS. Nome di Gesu. Teologia, storia, liturgia* (Naples: Istituto Grafico editoriale italiano, 1958); and Daniel Arasse, "Entre dévotion et hérésie: La tablette de saint Bernardin ou le secret d'un predicateur," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 28 (1995): 118–36.

48. Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages," 184–85.

49. Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from Its Origins to Saint Bernardino of Siena* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 168.

50. The standard account of the controversy is Longpré, "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de Jésus."

On the Dominican opposition to Bernardino's cult of the Christogram, see Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Les mémoires d'André Biglia sur la prédication de st. Bernardin de Sienne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 (1935): 308–58.

51. See Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom*, 95–100, for parallel instances of a controversial cult—the miraculously bleeding Hosts—being supplemented with cult archetypes of less troubled legitimacy, such as the Gregorian image of the Man of Sorrows.

52. "Sanctus Bernardinus fecit pingere Senis unum magnum Yesu, cum corona in pallatio, et subito cessavit pestis, nec ulterius fuit, quamvis antea ibi sepissime esset. Similiter idem fecit Ferrarie. Ponite nomen Yesu, et cessabit pestis, Canite ubique Yesu; vocate: Yesu! Yesu! Yesu! Ogniuno chiami: Yesu! Beate Frater Jacobus de Marchia misit Senis ad unam domum in qua iam mortue fuerant novem persone de peste, ut ponerent nomen Yesu super cameras, schalas, et cessavit. . . . Quidam indemoniatus dicebat quod, quando audiebat nominare Yesum, sentiebat demones in corpore genuflectentes. Alius, cum esset infirmus, et vidisset diabolum ad se venientem, dicebat: Ave, Maria, totus sbigotitus, et cum pervenisset ad Yesum, vidit illum parum retrocedere, et tunc coepit clamare: Yesu! Yesu! Yesu!, et sic totaliter evanuit. Sanctus Bernardinus liberavit quemdam indemoniatum, solum invocato nomine Yesu. . . . Rome, Beatus Frater Jacobus De Marchia liberavit sex a malo caduco, a uno tratto, invocato nomine Yesu. HIS, dulcis memoria . . . qui nos benedicat etc." Varischi, *Sermoni del beato Bernardino da Feltre*, 2:353–54.

53. "Videruntque stellam ipsam contra faciem S. Bernardini oppositam; tanquam si vox coelestis indiceret, vultum ejusdem sancti irradians". John of Capistrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," in *SS. Bernardini senensi opera omnia,* ed. Jean de la Haye, 5 parts in 4 vols. (Venice, 1745), 1:xli. I am grateful to Gavin Wiens for drawing my attention to this passage.

54. The remarks on the chapel and on Eucharistic naturalism here summarizes the analysis in Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible: Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, 1520–1540." For a comprehensive treatment of the chapel, addressing the chronology of work, the records of the commission, the confraternity, and the theological context, see Barbara Maria Savy, "Manducatio per visum. Temi Eucaristici nella pittura di Romanino e Moretto," in *Pittura del Rinascimento nell'Italia Settentrionale, Quaderni 2* (Cittadella: Bertoncello Artigrafiche, 2006).

55. On Brescian headgear, see Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth-Century Italian Paintings, Volume 1: Paintings from Bergamo, Brescia and Cremona*, 154.

56. As I noted in "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible: Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, 1520–1540." More recently, Elsner, "Image and Site," 163, in reference to the eucharistically themed art of the Chiesa di Villa at Castiglione d'Olona, observes that the "play with illusionism and with different image types of the dead, buried and resurrected Christ, is . . . a brilliantly designed setting for the Mass and for the Eucharistic body of Christ, which fulfills the Chiesa di Villa's dispensation of representations with the real thing itself."

57. Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 227.

58. See Giovanni Agosti, "Sui gusti di Altobello Averoldi," in *Il polittico Averoldi di Tiziano restaurato*, ed. Elena Lucchesi Ragni and Giovanni Agosti (Brescia: Grafo, 1991), 55–80.

59. Nova, *Girolamo Romanino*, 257–58.

60. The focus of a much-cited analysis by Roberto Longhi, "Cose Bresciane del cinquecento" (1917), in *Opere complete*, vol. 1, *Scritti giovanili, 1912–1922* (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), 327–43, although I am inclined to think that too much has been made of Giorgione as forerunner and artists like Romanino as followers.

61. Querciolo Mazzonis, *Spirituality, Gender and the Self in Renaissance Italy: Angela Merici and the Company of St. Ursula (1474–1540)* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

62. On the portrait, Valerio Guazzoni, *Moretto. Il tema sacro* (Brescia: Grafo, 1981), 19; also *Alessandro Bonvicino il Moretto*, exh. cat. (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1988), 72–73.

63. Antonio Sanudo in 1524 records great commotion among the people of Brescia in a letter to Marino Sanudo: three days of processions with the Eucharist "et una croce che i brexani hanno grande opinione, con el vescovo, qual ha cantato messa grande in domo, e tutte le scuole e arte, frati, preti sono stati alla processione, tutto per placar l'ira di Dio di questi diluvi si dice sarà questo Fevrer." He describes massive almsgiving

"et il vescovo ha comunicato tutta la sua famiglia; la qual cossa è stà causa, che tutta la terra quasi si hanno comunicato." Sanudo, *Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, ed. Rinaldo Fulin et al., 58 vols. (Venice: Visentini, 1879–1903), 35:341.

64. For the text of Cereta's letter *Super incustodita Eucharista* (On the Neglect of the Eucharist), see Savy, "Manducatio per visum," 254. Bernardino's concern that the Host was not being accorded due honors when borne through the streets to the bedside of the sick led to the founding of the Scuola del Sacramento at Santa Maria in Calchera, Brescia, in 1494, according to the record of a pastoral visit by Archbishop Carlo Borromeo in 1494. Stefania Buganza in *Romanino: Un pittore in rivolta nel Rinascimento Italiano*, 132.

65. Innocenzo Casari, *De exterminio Brixianae civitatis libellus*, in *Il sacco di Brescia. Testimonianze, cronache, diari, atti del processo e memorie storiche della della "presa memoranda et crudele" della citta nel 1512,* ed. Vittorio Faggi et al., 2 vols. (Bologna: Grafo, 1989), 1:43: "Evacuantur monasteria, res sacrae, calices, cruces, et omne ecclesiarum ornamentorum genus ignominiose diripiuntur, franguntur et comminuuntur, et quod dictum execrabile est nec sine ingenti lacrimarum profluvio audiendum, sacramenta in terram effuse tui etiam sacratissimi corporis hostiam, benignissime Iesu, turpiter pedibus, luto et sordibus coninquinatus conculcant." See also p. 46 for an account of the desecration of Santa Maria in Calchera. These and similar incidents are discussed in Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 199, 207–8.

66. For an instance in 1526, see Giuseppe Fusari, "L'eresia a Brescia," in *Aspirazioni e devozioni. Brescia nel Cinquecento tra preghiera ed eresia*, ed. Ennio Ferraglio (Milan: Electa, 2006), 52–53; for another at Breno in 1544–45, see Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 185.

67. Fusari, "L'eresia a Brescia," 52.

68. Guazzoni, *Moretto. Il tema sacro*, 49; and Buganza in *Romanino. Un pittore in rivolta nel Rinascimento Italiano*, 132.

69. Casari, *De exterminio Brixianae civitatis libellus*, 46: "Quidquid vero ibi in templo et in sacrario fuerat reconditum, vi ianuis, capsis fractis et comminutis, ablatum est Celebrante etiam quodam sacerdote in aede Divae Dei Genitricis Mariae Calcariae superveniunt Barbari, Sanguinem et Corpus Dominicum in terram fundunt, patenam et calicem rapiunt ac presbyterium divina prosequentem iuxta altare hostiam Christo faciunt."

70. Buganza in *Romanino: Un pittore in rivolta nel Rinascimento Italiano*, 132–34.

71. On Karlstadt and events in Wittenberg in 1522, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), especially 88–96. On the Nuremberg ordinance, Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, 126. On Eucharistic imagery in the Veneto during the 1500s, see Maurice Cope, *The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Garland, 1979).

72. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp, eds., *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1–3.

73. Although there is a possible equivocation here: the Eucharist "stands for the body of Christ"/ "is the body of Christ," a question that an image is not called on to resolve. The equivocation was at the heart of passionate controversies concerning the Eucharist already by the eve of the Reformation; Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*. It seems unlikely that Romanino would have known the one comparable representation of an altarpiece-within-an-altarpiece, the *Miracle of Galla Placidia* painted by Niccolò Rondinelli about 1505 for San Giovanni Evangelista, Ravenna (now Milan, Brera). On the motif of the "altarpiece within the altarpiece," see Stefan A. Horthemke, *Das Bild im Bild in der italienischen Malerei: Zur Darstellung religioser Gemälde in der Renaissance* (Glienecke: Galda & Wilch, 1996), with discussion of Romanino's *Mass of St. Apollonius* at 53–56.

74. In Giovio's *Dialogus de viris et foeminis aestatis nostra florentibus*; see Paolo Giovio, *Scritti d'arte*, ed. Sonia Maffei (Pisa: Scuola normale superiore, 1999), 202–5. On the decline in Perugino's reputation before and after his death, see Alessandro Marabottini, "Aspetti della fortuna e sfortuna di Perugino nella pittura e nella teoria artistica dal Cinquecento all'Ottocento," in *Perugino. Il divin pittore*, ed. Vittoria Garibaldi and Francesco Federico Mancini, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2004), 387–401.

75. It is even closer to the figure of the Jewish high priest in the Perugia *Marriage of the Virgin*, now Caen, Musée des beaux-arts.

76. For remarks on Perugino and the *maniera*

devota, see Charles Dempsey, Introduction, in *Drawing Relationships in Northern Italian Renaissance Art: Patronage and Theories of Invention*, ed. Giancarla Periti (London: Ashgate, 2004), 3–4. Romanino's interest in the art of Perugino does not seem to have lasted beyond the *Mass of St. Apollonius*. About a decade later, around 1535, he reworked the composition for a confraternal banner for the church of Santi Faustino e Giovita, where there is no conspicuous relation to any artistic forebear other than his own earlier work. The other side of the banner is a more decorous reworking of the Capriolo *Resurrection*, where Christ levitates placidly against a dawn sky turbulent with clouds.

77. Stefaniak, "Replicating Mysteries of the Passion," has suggestively linked Cajetan's treatise with Rosso Fiorentino's *Dead Christ*.

78. On "soft iconoclasm" and the development of the aniconic sacrament altar during the Catholic Reformation, see Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 197–220.

79. See the useful essay by Gian Alberto dell'Aqua, "La 'Scuola Bresciana' e il Moretto," in *Alessandro Bonvicino il Moretto*, 11–15. See also, in the same volume, Bruno Passamani, "Il 'Raffaello bresciano.' Formazione ed affermazione di un mito," 16–28.

80. Vasari/Milanesi, 3:653: "Vittore Scarapaccia et altri pittori viniziani e Lombardi: Girolamo Romanino, bonissimo pratico e disegnatore, come apertamente dimostrano l'opere sue fatte in Brescia et intorno a molte miglia. Né fu da meno di questi, anzi gli passò, Alessandro Moretto, delicatissimo ne' colori e tanto amico della diligenza quanto l'opere da lui fatte ne dimostrano." Also 6:504–6: "Benvenuto Garofalo e Girolamo de' Carpi, pittori Ferraresi, ed altri Lombardi: In Brescia ancora sono stati e sono persone eccellentissime nelle cose del disegno, e fra gl'altri Ieronimo Romanino ha fatte in quella città infinite opere; e la tavola che è in San Francesco all'altar maggiore, ch'è assai buona pittura, è di sua mano, e parimente i portegli che la chiudono, i quali sono dipinti a tempera di dentro e di fuori. È similmente sua opera un'altra tavola lavorata a olio, che è molto bella, e vi si veggiono forte imitate le cose naturali. Ma più valente di costui fu Alessandro Moretto, il quale dipinse a fresco sotto l'arco di porta Brusciata la Traslazione de' corpi di San Faustino et Iuvita, con alcune macchie di figure, che accompagnano quei corpi molto bene. In San Nazaro pur di Brescia fece alcun'opere, et altre in San Celso, che sono ragionevoli, et una tavola in San Piero in Oliveto, che è molto vaga. In Milano, nelle case della Zecca, è di mano del detto Alessandro in un quadro la Conversione di San Paulo, et altre teste molto naturali, e molto bene abbigliati di drappi e vestimenti, perciò che si dilettò molto costui di contrafare drappi d'oro, d'argento, velluti, damaschi, altri drappi di tutte le sorti, i quali usò di porre con molta diligenza addosso alle figure. Le teste di mano di costui sono vivissime e tengono della maniera di Raffaello da Urbino, e più ne terrebbono, se non fusse da lui stato tanto lontano."

81. Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte Ouero le vite de gl'illvstri pittori veneti, e dello stato* (Brescia, 1648), 247.

82. "Quamvis infantes et pueros, quam virgines et coniugatas in cubilibus suis iugulaverint, alios cremaverint, alios inexcogitabilibus usque ad haec tempora tormentis affecerint, quemadmodum Brixianos christicolas a christicolis Gallis fuisse passos manifestum est, nusquam legisse, vel aliquo narrante audivisse me memini; Gotorum quoque sive Longobardorum temporibus totam Italiam devastantium, quorum truculentam rabiem historicorum detestantur codices, ad basilicas usque et religiosorum loca cruentus saeviebat trucidatorius gladius; ibi accipiebat limitem hostium furor. Illo ducebantur a miserantibus hostibus, quibus etiam extra ilia loca pepercerant, ne in eos incurrerent, qui similem misercordiam non habebant." Casari, *De exterminio Brixianae civitatis libellus*, 48. On the altarpiece as an indirect commemoration of the sack, see Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City*, 207; and *Alessandro Bonvicino il Moretto*, 91–94.

83. This follows the dating in Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 118–22.

84. Savy, "Manducatio per visum," 44–51. See also Salvatore Baviera and Jadranka Bentini, eds., *Mistero e immagine. L'Eucaristia nell'arte dal XVI al XVIII secolo* (Milan: Electa, 1997), 98–101. It has been noted that the paintings for the chapel at San Giovanni Evangelista embed conspicuous references to Raphael and to the Roman tradition, on the one hand—the *Sacrifice of Isaac* and the *Feast of the Paschal Lamb* quote the *Judgment of Paris* engraving and the *Bed*

of Polykleitos—while, on the other, they emphasize some of the more prosaic facts of bodily existence: eating, sleeping, elimination. Chiara Parisio, "Alcune indicazioni sulle fonti figurative del Moretto," in *Alessandro Bonvicino il Moretto*, 273–79. The *Feast of the Paschal Lamb* is a distinctly unflattering portrayal of the Israelites devouring the lamb's flesh, without any sense of a transcendent meaning, where physical hunger—not salvation—is clearly at stake. *Elijah Fed by the Angel* has a landscape with a wayfarer urinating on a rock. In Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible: Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, 1520–1540," I explored the dimensions of anti-Judaism in the typological use of biblical imagery and its vein of coarse naturalism. Bowd's book *Venice's Most Loyal City*, which also appeared in 2010, provides abundant other particulars about Judeo-Christian relations in Brescia that could amplify such an analysis. He notes (206), for instance, that Inncenzo Casari—Moretto's patron for the altarpiece for San Giovanni Evangelista of about 1532—blamed the sack of Brescia on the complicity of "the Jews" with the French.

85. *Alessandro Bonvicino il Moretto*, 98–100; and Flavio Caroli, ed., *Il Cinquecento lombardo. Da Leonardo a Caravaggio* (Milan: Skira, 2000), 286.

86. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, 248–49. "Raccoglieva un contadinello more silvestri nel seno di quel monte, a cui apparve Maria Santissima in sembiante di grave Matrona, cinta di bianca veste, commettendogli, che facesse intendere a que' Popoli, che al di lei nome edificassero una Chiesa in quella sommità, che in tal modo cessarebbe certo infortunio di male, che gli opprimeva. Ubbidì il garzoncello, et ottenne anch'egli la sanità: Edificato il Tempio, fu ordinata la pittura al Moretto; il quale con ogni applicatione si diede a compor la figura della Vergine, nella guisa che riferiva il Rustico: ma affaticandosi invano, pensò che qualche suo grave peccato gl'impedisse l'effetto, onde riconciliatosi con molta divotione con Dio, prese la Santissima Eucharistia, ed indi ripigliò il lavoro, e gli venne fatta l'Imagine in tutto simigliante a quella che haveva veduto il Contadino, che ritrasse a' piedi, col cesto delle more al braccio, onde viene frequentata da continue visite de' Popoli, mediante la quale ottengono dalla Divina mano gratie e favori."

87. "[P]erciò che si dilettò molto costui di contrafare drappi d'oro, d'argento, velluti, damaschi, altri drappi di tutte le sorti." Vasari/Milanesi, 3:653. See passage quoted in note 81 above.

88. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie; London, National Gallery; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum; Florence, Contini Bonacossi Collection.

89. Mary Pardo, "The Subject of Savoldo's Magdalene," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 67–91: "The Magdalene is especially suited to the display of artifice: since it does not pretend to "contain" truth, only to reflect it, its ostensible content is wholly exterior to it. . . . The gleaming shawl 're-represents' the pigmented and brush-imprinted canvas surface in terms of illusion, and thus invites us to contemplate on its own terms that other content, the artistic process itself."

90. *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), 3.21, p. 221. Peter Parshall, "The Art of Memory and the Passion," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 456–72, at 464, cites the passage in relation to images of the Man of Sorrows, noting the parallel with the *Rhetorica* and its "dialectic of honor and defamation, of authority and its reinstatement through a humiliating ritual of defamation."

91. For some related considerations in the art of Callisto Piazza of Lodi, and the thematic of "living stone," see Cyril Gerbron, "L'Adoration de l'Enfant de Callisto Piazza à Crema (1538), ou le corps vivant de l'Église," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaine*s 128 (2016): 2–25.

92. Thus the seamless tunic of Christ in his late *Man of Sorrows* (Brescia, Tosio Martinengo) has been related to the metaphorical image of the "indivisible garment" in Cipriano di Cartagine's *De catholicae Ecclesiae unitate* as well as to the *Beneficio*'s fifth chapter: "Come il cristiano si veste di Cristo." See Giuseppe Fusari, "Moretto e il Beneficio di Cristo," in *Aspirazioni e devozioni. Brescia nel Cinquecento tra preghiera e eresia*, ed. Ennio Ferraglio (Milan: Electa, 2006), 60–71, at 68–69. Of course, such meanings are available to devout Christians encountering these paintings, but the significance may be more profound and fundamental than the possibility that the artist used one or another text as his specific "source."

93. Mazzonis, *Spirituality, Gender and the Self*, 15. The same author (118–20) also notes that Merici's theology of mystical union, of direct access to the

divine without the mediation of the clergy, did not survive the scrutiny of later Catholic reformers like Carlo Borromeo.

94. In Moretto's *Assumption* (Brescia, Duomo Vecchio), the heavenly and the earthly zones are clearly separated; this contrasts with the dramatic, fleeting contact between the Virgin and the apostles in Titian's Frari *Assumption*. The emphasis falls on the apostles' prayerfulness and adoration, not their excitement. In Moretto's critique of Titian, he seems to revive the "devout" style of Perugino in the Sistine Chapel *Assumption*. Hierarchies are boldly inscribed in Moretto, but communication across hierarchies is possible—by looking.

95. On nature and matter in Franciscan spirituality, see Sara Ritchey, *Holy Matter: Changing Perceptions of the Material World in Late Medieval Christianity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 91–126. Bynum, *Christian Materiality* (254), examines the tendency of many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century thinkers, Platonists and Aristotelians, from Nicholas Oresme to Marsilio Ficino, to uphold a dynamism of the material, "a sort of autonomy or actuality or desire in matter." Andrew Cole, "The Call of Things: A Critique of Object-Oriented Ontologies," *Minnesota Review* 80 (2013): 106–18, at 109, writes of Meister Eckhart's association of the notion of *sympathies* within objects, whose natural properties generate propensities and inclinations, with voice, as in the case of the heavy stone. . . . Countermanding the long-standing clichés about mute stones, Eckhart's stone speaks while it *does* what it *is*."

96. "Si tamen volumus ex eorum communi proprietate ad unum genus suum primarium reducendo uni elemento, unique planetae consignare dicemus / quod terrei sunt: et cum Marte Saturno supposito conveniunt ex natura duriori, et terrea, igne bene decocta et adeo constipate, ut tenuissimo spiritu vivant: Vivuunt nihilominus unde non immerito dicuntur lapides vivi: sola tamen vita gaudentes, ratione, sensu, et omni motu privatim, praeter augmenti et alterationis: Crescunt non et alterantur ignis et solis caliditate. Inest etiam eis appetitius tendendi ad centrum aut ex gravitate, aut ex sua parte natura." Francesco Zorzi, *De harmonia mundi totius* (Venice, 1525), Canticus primus tonus quartus, fols. lxxv r–lxxxv v. For a thorough discussion of Zorzi in relation to the colored marble aniconic altarpiece of the cathedral of Vicenza, see Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, 270–81.

97. Working mainly in Venice, Savoldo produced a variation of this composition for the church of San Giobbe; a third version was made for a Franciscan church at Terlizzi in Puglia. On the altarpiece and the version in San Giobbe, proposing a date of 1540 for both (the version in Venice allegedly once bore this date), see the entries by Pier Vigilio Begni Redona in *Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo tra Foppa, Giorgione e Caravaggio*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1990), 109–15; also Pugliese, Donati, and Puppi, eds., *Tiziano, Bordon e gli Aquaviva d'Aragona*, 185–87, 278.

98. On the miraculous image, see D. Paolo Guerrini, *Il Santuario di S. Maria delle Grazie. Cenni di storia e d'arte* (Brescia: Scuola tipografica di Maria Immacolata, 1923), 104–7.

99. *Alessandro Bonvicino il Moretto*, 174. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1:39. On arboreal imagery in Franciscan devotional writing from the 1300s, see Ritchey, *Holy Matter*, 127–59.

100. If this is the case, it might be taken as a confirmation of what John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," *Past and Present* 47 (1970): 51–70, writes about the increasing role of the parishes in the regulation of confraternities; here the priest bears a representational function for the community.

101. For discussion, see Simone Facchinetti, ed., *Giovan Battista Moroni. Lo sguardo sulla realtà, 1560–1579* (Milan: Silvana, 2004).

102. Luigi Scaramuccia, *Le finezze de'pennelli italiani* (Pavia: per Giovanni Andrea Magri, 1674), 128–29.

103. Veronese's debt to Moretto is sometimes noted but insufficiently appreciated. In his Giustiniani altarpiece for S. Francesco della Vigna, which Venetian observers undoubtedly compared to Titian's Pesaro altarpiece in the Frari, Veronese seems to align instead with the stony surfaces of Moretto's critical adaptation of Titian's work in his Rovelli altarpiece (see fig. 5.23). Veronese's great *Christ in the House of Levi* for S. Giorgio is a homage to a Venetian work by Moretto, his 1544 altarpiece for S. Gregorio in Alga (now Venice, Museo diocesano).

Chapter 6

1. "Disputa fatta più volte che non sono non pur marmi e colori nel mondo, ma ghiribizzi di chi sculpisce e dipinge. Onde il ricercare il mio giudizio in tal pratica è pazzia che la pazzia canoniza, perché io, che a pena so di quante sillabe si debbe organizare un verso, poco vaglio in sentenziare quello che non si è giudicato che da apparse in tavole e in sassi il disegno. Ben che per ubidirvi, come è onesto e che debbo, dico che sí fatta contesa si confà con quella ch'è tra la providenzia divina e la stoltizia umana; ne i casi de la vita favello, conciosia che l'una sa ciò che le dee avvenire, e quando, e l'altra, orba nel comprendere le sue miserie, le resiste altrimente credendo." Pietro Aretino, *Lettere*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli (Rome: Salerno editrice, 2002), 4:260–61.

2. See, for instance, Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007); and Cole, *Ambitious Form: Giambologna, Ammananti and Dante* in Florence.

3. Giovanni Previtali, *La fortuna dei Primitivi dal Vasari ai Neoclassici* (1964; Turin: Einaudi, 1989), 39–67; and Bologna, *La coscienza storica*, 123–59.

4. On Correggio's more local impact, see David Ekserdjian, *Correggio* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 293–296.

5. Bram de Klerck, *The Brothers Campi: Images and Devotion: Religious Painting in Sixteenth-Century Lombardy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), chap. 2.

6. At the time of writing, the future of this astonishing work remains unclear. The church, now in private hands, operates as a conference center and exhibition space hosting in recent years displays of motorcycles, jewelry, and works by Salvador Dalí; the sixteenth-century decorations are miserably neglected.

7. Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style*, 2nd ed. (Florence: Cadmo, 2000). Ludovico's polemical aversion to Rome is a major theme of the later biography of the family of painters by Carlo Cesare Malvasia. Anne Summerscale, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci: Commentary and Translation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), provides elucidation and bibliography; see especially 54, 84–85, 175–77.

8. Other than the works themselves, the chief testimony of the Carracci's admiration for Correggio is found in two letters by Annibale Carracci written from Parma in 1580, included in Malvasia's biography; see Summerscale, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, 94–98. See also Stephen J. Campbell, "The Carracci, Visual Narrative, and Heroic Poetry after Ariosto: The *Story of Jason* in Palazzo Fava," *Word and Image* 18 (2002): 210–30.

9. Michael Bury, *Giulio Sanuto: A Venetian Engraver of the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1990), 12–16, 44. The dedication begins: "All'ilustrissimo et eccellentiss. Signor Donno Alfonso II, da este, Duca quinto di Ferrara. Tra le molte allegorie, che gli antichi Poeti compresero nella favola di Marsia; è da credere, che fosse la principale il volere insegnare a temerari di non far giudicio delle cose loro havendo nell'animo l'orrecchie dello sciocco Re Mida. Colquale utilissimo ammaestramento havendo io dalla pittura d'una tavola del famosissimo Antonio da Correggio cavata in disegno, et intagliata in rame questa favola con quei migliori adornamenti, che ho potuto, ho eletto di farla uscir sotto il gloriosissimo nome di V. Eccellenza." The print bears two Latin inscriptions: "apollinis et marsiae / fabula ex clariss / pictoris antonii / de corregio pictura" and "ex parnasi raphaelis / pictura, ut vacuum hoc impleretur."

10. On Bronzino's painting from which the print derives, see Stephen J. Campbell, "Bronzino's *Fable of Marsyas*: Anatomy as Myth," in *Le corps transparent / Inner and Outer Body / Il corpo trasparente* (Rome: Erma di Bretschneider, 2012), 173–94. Mario Fanti, "Le postille carraccesche alle *Vite* del Vasari," 116.

11. *Trattato*, in G. P. Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti,* ed. Roberto P. Ciardi, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro Di, 1973–74), 2:101: "Questo gran pittore . . . è stato tralasciato da Giorgio Vasari nelle Vite che egli ha scritto de'pittori, scultori, et architetti . . . argomento, per non apporgli più brutta nota, ch'egli ha inteso solamente ad inalzare la sua Toscana sino al cielo."

12. Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, 52.

13. Giulio Bora, Manuela Kahn-Rossi, and Francesco Porzio, eds., *Rabisch. Il grottesco nell'arte del Cinquecento. L'Accademia della Val di Blenio, Lomazzo e l'ambiente milanese*, exh. cat. (Milan: Skira, 1998).

14. Bora, Kahn-Rossi, and Porzio, eds., *Rabisch. Il grottesco nell'arte del Cinquecento,* 118–19.

15. Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, 93.

16. On Lomazzo's animus against the Campi, see Longhi, "Caravaggio and His Forerunners," 144–45.

17. Gregorio Comanini, *Il Figino overo del fine della pittura* (Mantua: Francesco Osanna, 1591). See the introduction to the English edition, *The Figino, or On the Purpose of Painting by Gregorio Comanini: Art Theory in the Late Renaissance,* ed. Ann Doyle-Anderson and Giancarlo Maiorino (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

18. Barbara Agosti, "Lungo la Paullese 2," in *Quattro pezzi lombardi (per Maria Teresa Binaghi)* (Brescia: Edizioni l'Obliquo, 1998), 127–36 (reference to Lomazzo, 128). Agosti considers Giovanni, like Peterzano, to have been an early teacher of Caravaggio.

19. As noted by Longhi, *Caravaggio and His Forerunners*, 141; see also Giulio Bora, "Fra tradizione, maniera e classicismo riformato (1535–1595)," in *Pittura a Milano. Rinascimento e Manierismo* (Cariplo: Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, 1998), 277; and Mina Gregori, "Sul venetismo di Simone Peterzano," *Arte documento* 6 (1992): 263–69.

20. The earlier *Annunciation*s are those for the Seminario Dioscesano, Venegono Inferiore, and the church of Santa Maria della Passione in Milan.

21. Thomas Puttfarken, *Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle's Poetics and the Rise of the Modern Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 101, 119–20.

22. Carlo Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, trans. Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 91–92.

23. For another Lombard reworking of Titian's painting, see that by Morazzone in Fondazione Longhi, Florence, of 1608–10, itself strongly impressed with the artist's experience of the work of Gaudenzio Ferrari at the Sacro Monte. Jacopo Stoppa, *Il Morazzone* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2003), 195–96.

24. Federico Borromeo, *Sacred Painting: Museum*, ed. and trans. Kenneth S. Rothwell Jr., intro. and notes Pamela M. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 149–59.

25. Borromeo, *Sacred Painting*, 155.

26. Borromeo, *Sacred Painting*, 159.

27. Borromeo, *Sacred Painting*, 157.

28. On the Serravale commission, see Giorgio Tagliaferro, "Tiziano Vecellio. *Madonna col Bambino in gloria e santi Andrea e Pietro*," in *Lungo le vie di Tiziano. I luoghi e le opere di Tiziano, Francesco, Orazio e Marco Vecellio tra Vittorio Veneto e il Cadore*, ed. M. Mazza (Milan: Skira, 2007), 54–65.

29. Charles Hope, *Titian* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 154; and Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, 90–91.

30. For an illustration of the Pinelli Annunciation, see S. Ferino-Pagden, ed., *Late Titian and the Sensuality of Painting,* exh. cat. (Venice: Marsilio, 2007), 255. On Maranta, see Ulrich Pfisterer, *Die Kunstliteratur der italienischen Renaissance: Eine Geschichte in Quellen* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2002); Caroline Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 144–50; Marsel Grosso, *Per la fama di Tiziano nella cultura artistica dell'Italia spagnola* (Udine: Forum, 2010), 71–112; and Luba Freedman, "Bartolomeo Maranta's *Discourse* on Titian's *Annunciation* in Naples: Introduction," *Journal of Art Historiography* 13 (2015): 1–48, and the accompanying translation by Viviana Tonon.

31. On the work as a statement of Venetian identity, but anomalous within the Venetian tradition, see Tom Nichols, *Titian and the End of the Venetian Renaissance* (London: Reaktion, 2013), 78. Nichols argues that, especially in his later work, Titian departed from a preexisting normative *venezianità*, to be defined by the painting of Giovanni Bellini. I question the existence of such norms for earlier Venetian painting or Venetian culture itself, even as the notion of *venezianità* has achieved a wide currency in recent scholarship. This in itself is an intriguing instance of how scholars reproduce and perpetuate the "myth of Venice" in their own work, even in the face of research on Venice as a "world city" or Mediterranean crossroads that indicates the untenability of such totalizing descriptions.

32. Pietro Aretino, in *Tiziano. L'epistolario*, ed. Lionello Puppi (Florence: Alinari 24 Ore, 2012), 115.

33. For more on Titian's dramatization of *rilievo* and *prospettiva*, or optic and haptic, in his painting, see Stephen J. Campbell, "Naturalism and the Venetian Poesia: Grafting, Metaphor and Embodiment in Giorgione, Titian and the Campagnolas," 115–42.

34. It has been suggested that the ideal point of view is in front of Antonio Vivarini's and Giovanni d'Allemagna's *Virgin and Child with Saints* on an adjacent wall. See David Rosand, "Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* and the Scuola della Carità," *Art*

Bulletin 58 (1976): 55–83 (also included in his *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese,* 2nd ed. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997]).

35. The light symbolism of the obelisk is attested to, for instance, in Niccolo Perotti's widely consulted *Cornucopiae* (1489). See Brian Curran et al., *Obelisk: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Burndy Library, 2009), 83.

36. For instance, by Jacopo Sansovino, in a letter of 1543, cited in Hochmann, *Venise et Rome, 1500–1600*, 279–80.

37. On the "Mannerist crisis," see Rodolfo Pallucchini, ed., *Da Tiziano a El Greco. Per la storia del Manierismo a Venezia 1540–1590*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1981); skepticism about the notion of "crisis" is expressed, for example, by Peter Humfrey, *Painting in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 185.

38. For a recent account of Vasari's ceiling, see Rossella Cavigli and Luisa Caporossi, "Vasari at Venice: The 'Suicide of Judas' at Arezzo, Another Addendum to the Corner Ceiling," *Burlington Magazine* 158 (January 2016): 10–12.

39. The St. Peter altarpiece may have been executed in competition with Pordenone, who produced what some scholars think is a *modello* for this commission, but Paolo Pino only records a competition as taking place between Titian and Palma il Vecchio. Pino, *Dialogo di pittura,* 1:137.

40. See Puppi, ed., *Tiziano. L'epistolario*, 120.

41. "[F]ar nell'opere figure grandi, per ch'in esse si può perfettamente ordinare la proporzione del vivo; e in tutte l'opere vostre fateli intervenire almeno una figura tutta sforciata, misteriosa e difficile, acciò che per quella voi siate notato valente da chi intende la perfezion dell'arte." Pino, Dialogo *di pittura,* 115. He is, of course, thinking of his own master, Savoldo.

42. On the dating of the Santo Spirito paintings, see the entry by Giovanni Neppi Scire in *Titian: Prince of Painters*, exh. cat. (Venice: Marsilio, 1990), 255–58.

43. In a letter to Paolo Manuzio from 1542, Aretino praises Sperone Speroni, who "draws like Michelangelo" and "colors like Titian." Hochmann, *Venise et Rome, 1500–1600*, 47–48, and further below.

44. Roskill, ed., *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, 111. On the escalation of the theme of rivalry in the various redactions of the anecdote, culminating in the assertion of Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian*, 335, that the *Danaë* constituted a "declaration of art war on Michelangelo," see Loh, *Titian Remade*, 26–33.

45. For an account of the *Great Sinners*, see Puttfarken, Titian and Tragic Painting, 77–96.

46. Vasari/Milanesi, 7:18–19.

47. On Battista Franco's Venetian projects, see Fabrizio Biferali and Massimo Firpo, *Battista Franco "pittore viniziano" nella cultura artistica e nella vita religiosa del Cinquecento* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), 191–339; and Mattia Biffis, "*In nomine eius*: Precisazioni su Battista Franco a San Francesco della Vigna," *Venezia Cinquecento* 33 (2007): 23–49. On Titian's relations with Franco, Jacopo Bassano, and Zuccaro in the 1560s, see W. R. Rearick, "Titian and Artistic Competition in Cinquecento Venice: Titian and His Rivals," *Studi Tizianeschi* 2 (2004): 31–43.

48. Hochmann, *Venise et Rome, 1500–1600*, 47–48, underscoring the historical importance of this remark.

49. Sansovino's comments are in his *Le lettere sopra del Decamerone di M. Giovanni Boccaccio* (Venice, 1543), 53–55, cited in Hochmann, *Venise et Rome, 1500–1600*, 48; and, on Pino, 59–62.

50. Dolce, *Aretino: Dialogue on Painting*, 186.

51. Dolce, *Aretino: Dialogue on Painting*, 87.

52. Dolce, *Aretino: Dialogue on Painting*, 93.

53. Dolce, *Aretino: Dialogue on Painting*, 157.

54. "Gli scorti sono intesi da pochi. Onde a pochi dilettanto, e anco a gl'intendenti alle volte piu apportano fastidio, che dilettatione." Dolce, *Aretino: Dialogue on Painting*, 148.

55. Dolce, *Aretino: Dialogue on Painting*, 195.

56. For an important revisionist examination of this crucial dimension to Titian's art, see Christopher Nygren, "Titian's Miracles: Artistry and Efficacy between the San Rocco *Christ* and the Accademia *Pietà*," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 57 (2015): 321–51.

57. Creighton E. Gilbert, "Some Findings on Early Works of Titian," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 36–75, at 74–75, believes that the inscription, which is in a unique illusionistic scroll form and adopts the formula of the Doge's Palace *Allegory of Lepanto* from the 1570s, may have been added later with a view to enhancing the work's saleability. The date may well be correct, although it would be of considerable interest if it were

to turn out to have been painted later, following Titian's return from Rome.

58. Blake de Maria, *Becoming Venetian: Immigrants and the Arts in Early Modern Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 133–43, with a useful family history at 210–14.

59. For political-theological interpretations centered on portrait identification, see William Hood, "Titian's Narrative Art: Some Religious Paintings for Venetian Patrons, 1518–1545" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1977), 122–62; Flavia Polignano, "I ritratti dei volti e i registri dei fatti: L'Ecce Homo di Tiziano per Giovanni d'Anna," *Venezia Cinquecento* (1992): 7–54; Luba Freedman, *Titian's Portraits through Aretino's Lens* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 48–62; and Augusto Gentili, "Titian's Venetian Commissions: Events, Contexts, Images, 1537–1576," in *Titian and the Sensuality of Painting,* ed. S. Ferino-Pagden (Venice: Marsilio, 2007), 43–53.

60. A similar *Rückenfigur* appears in the Alfonso d'Avalos portrait (Madrid, Prado).

61. Glauco Benito Tiozzo, "Un inedito *Gesù dinanzi a Pilato* dello Schiavone," *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 12 (1983): 1–2; and Giorgio Fossaluzza, "Andrea Schiavone interprete di Tiziano. Due variazioni dell'*Ecce Homo* per Giovanni d'Anna," *Studi Tizianeschi* 6–7 (2011): 78–87.

62. Puttfarken, *Titian and Tragic Painting,* 100. De Maria, *Becoming Venetian,* 133, believes that the "*Ecce Homo* evinces an emotional intensity and dramatic force hitherto unseen in Titian's oeuvre, marking a turning point in the artist's long career."

63. Philipp P. Fehl, "Tintoretto's Homage to Titian and Pietro Aretino," in *Decorum and Wit* (Vienna: 1RSA, 1992), 176; Freedman, *Titian's Portraits through Aretino's Lens*, 52–57; de Maria, *Becoming Venetian*, 138–41; and Raymond Waddington, "Aretino, Titian, and *La Humanità di Christo*," in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth Century Italy*, ed. Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne (New York: Ashgate, 2009), 171–98.

64. Aretino, *I quattro libri de la humanità di Christo* (Venice: 1540): 78r. "E le formiche non sono cosi folte intorno a i semi per empiersene; come essi erano folti intorno a Giesù per satiarsene. E vedendo che la sua patienza superava la crudeltà loro, divenevano piu rabbiosi, che non e la Tigre che non ritrova i figli." And 79r: "la moltitudine, che gli stave intorno, come le mosche a i vasi pieni di latte."

65. De Maria, *Becoming Venetian*, 139, from Hood, "Titian's Narrative Art," 131.

66. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 218–35.

67. The 1544 confraternity banner for the Corpus Domini in Urbino (now Urbino, Pinacoteca nazionale) is a montage of *self*-citations—the Brescia *Risen Christ*, the shield-bearing soldier from the d'Anna *Ecce Homo*, possibly even the flaming sky of the Gozzi altarpiece not far away in Ancona (see figs. 4.28, 5.14).

68. Antonio Pérez, *Segundas Cartas* (Paris, 1603), 120v–21r, quoted in Hope, *Titian*, 118.

69. Titian's foreshortened figure of the almsgiving St. John in his San Giovanni Elemosinario altarpiece would already have seemed too much like Tintoretto by 1550 (and it would prove to be a key point of reference for Tintoretto's vigorously charitable apostles and docile paupers in his *Last Supper* paintings of the following decade). The dating of the altarpiece for San Giovanni Elemosinario—another site with prominent frescoes by Pordenone in the cupola—is disputed; if Gentili, "Titian's Venetian Commissions: Events, Contexts, Images, 1537–1576," 46, is correct, it would date from the mid- to late 1540s. This would also mean that it postdates the most important local precedent for an altarpiece devoted to a saint giving alms—Lotto's 1542 St. Antoninus altarpiece for Santi Giovanni e Paolo (still *in situ*). By contrast with Lotto's visually copious approach to a scene of charity, Titian relies on a relative parsimony of means. Above all, he has avoided doing anything that might signal the imitation or even faintest reminiscence of Lotto, right down to the palette and to the conspicuous looseness of brushwork.

70. As demonstrated persuasively by Tom Nichols, *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity* (London: Reaktion, 1999), 68–100.

71. Allison Sherman, "Murder and Martyrdom: Titian's Gesuiti Saint Lawrence as a Family Peace Offering," *Artibus et historiae* 68 (2014): 39–54, reconstructs the dramatic and tragic events in the Massolo family that would seem to have motivated the selection of the altar in the Crociferi church and the violent scene of martyrdom. As regards the delay in completion, Sherman speculates (47): "It may even have been the ease between friends that allowed the project to drag on for more than a decade." See also Lionello Puppi,

"Peripezie della committenza. I contesti, i protagonisti, le occasioni," in *La notte di San Lorenzo. Genesi, contesti, peripezie di un capolavoro di Tiziano,* ed. Lionello Puppi and Letizia Lonzi (Crocetta del Montello: Terra Ferma Edizioni, 2013), 64–90.

72. For an image, see the Wikipedia entry "Palazzo Grimani (Castello)."

73. In 1571 Titian authorized the making of an engraving after the Crociferi painting by Cornelis Cort, on which see Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620* (London: British Museum, 2001), 92, and further below.

74. Noted by Freedman, "Bartolomeo Maranta's *Discourse* on Titian's *Annunciation* in Naples: Introduction," 34; see the translation on 6.

75. "Et in fatti Vostra Signoria ha di gran lunga tolto il vanto à tutti i nostri fiamminghi in paesaggi, nella qual parte di pittura (poiche in quanto alle figure restavamo vinti sa voi altri Signori Italiani) credevamo tener il campo." Puppi, *Tiziano: L'epistolario*, 288.

76. Rosemarie Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 137–88.

77. D'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings,* 122, points out that Aretino's case drew on Dante's imagery of heavenly light—the blinding fire in the gaze of Beatrice—in his *ekphrasis* of Titian's 1537 Murano *Annunciation* to characterize the unbearably bright light of the Virgin's eyes; she correctly observes (130) that "Titian's paintings could be seen . . . not as the opposite of Michelangelo, but, as Dolce says, an attempt to combine Michelangelo with Raphael, Dante with Petrarch, grace with horror, pleasure with burning, grandeur with humility, and delicacy of finish with deliberate roughness." I would question the degree to which we can elide Titian's intentions with those of Dolce or Aretino.

78. "[U]ltimamente ha usato un terribile et acuto lume e di qui e ch'egli solo con la sua furia e grandezza ha ottenuto la palma sopra gli altri nel fare le cose di rilievo, se ben nel disegno e contorni e restato di gran lunga inferiore." Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, chap. 14, in *Scritti sulle arti*, 1:288.

79. This reading is pursued at greater length in Stephen J. Campbell, "Titian's *Flaying of Marsyas*: Thresholds of the Human and the Limits of Painting," in *Renaissance Posthumanism*, ed. Joseph Campana and Scott Maisano (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 64–99.

80. The painting was removed and returned to the artist by the friars in March 1575, greatly to the artist's distress. See Nygren, "Titian's Miracles: Artistry and Efficacy between the San Rocco *Christ* and the Accademia *Pietà*" for an indispensable account.

81. Nygren, "Titian's Miracles, 343–46, demonstrates that the *Pietà* is not simply based on Michelangelo's in the Vatican, but—as the votive tablet indicates—on a popular local miracle image, the *Madonna della Navicella* in Chioggia.

82. Correspondingly, several late works suggest that the spacing interval of the gaze, and the desire on the part of one protagonist to close it—as well as the passage from seeing to touching—can only be effected through an act of annihilating violence. Examples include the *Tarquin and Lucretia* (Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste) and the *Death of Actaeon* (London, National Gallery). The bloodshed of the Vienna painting is completely anomalous, given the ostensible subject of the picture: in no account of the episode is Lucretia stabbed by Tarquin. The struggle at issue is that of Titian, whose late manner has now no longer to do with *disegno* and *colore*, but with an understanding of his own painting as the exercise of a compressive force capable of annihilating recognizable figures and actions in its drive to integrate all elements of the pictorial field.

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